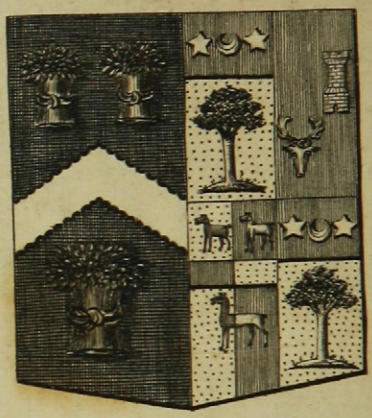
430. Heriot





Rev.d Edward Feilde.



THE

HISTORY

OF

CANADA.

VOL. I.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

CANADA,

FROM

ITS FIRST DISCOVERY,

COMPREHENDING

AN ACCOUNT OF

THE ORIGINAL ESTABLISHMENT

OF THE COLONY OF

LOUISIANA.

By GEORGE HERIOT, Esq.
DEPUTY POSTMASTER GENERAL OF BRITISH AMERICA.
&c. &c. &c.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
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PATERNOSTER-ROW.
1804.

PREFACE.

AS no regular Hiſtory of CANADA has hitherto appeared in the Engliſh language, it has been deemed adviſeable to commit the following ſheets to the preſs. They are not offered to the Public as compoſing an original work. The greateſt part of their contents has been taken from *l'Hiſtoire de la Nouvelle France*, written many years ago, by Father Charlevoix. The names of the other writers, who have likewiſe been conſulted on the preſent occaſion, are as under *.

The Hiſtory of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, is much involved with that of Canada, the inhabitants having been ne-

* Voyages de Champlain.
Voyages de la Henton.
Le Clerc ſur l'Etabliſſement de la Foix, &c.
Voyages de la Patherie.
Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuſes.
L'Hiſtoire des Voyages.

ceſſitated, for a long ſeries of years, to maintain, againſt the unremitted efforts of that people, an almoſt continual ſtruggle. Although at once the moſt warlike, as well as political, of all the natives on the continent of America, the number of their warriors exceeded not a few thouſands; and they long continued to ſpread terror and deſolation throughout an extent of ſeveral thouſand miles. The promptitude and energy with which their meaſures were uſually executed, compenſated, in a great degree, for the ſmallneſs of their numbers. Their mode of warfare was by ambuſcade and ſurpriſe, and they ſeldom hazarded an open engagement. The chief credit of a leader conſiſted in providing for the ſafety of his own party, and at the ſame time of deſtroying or of capturing as great a number as poſſible of the enemy. This mode of combat, doubtleſs, originated from the ſtate of the country inhabited by ſavages, it being every where covered with thick foreſts.

The courage diſplayed by ſavages ſeems, generally, to conſiſt more in patience during

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ing ſuffering, than in expoſing themſelves to the chances of open war. Habituated to view with indifference the proſpect of death, they endure the moſt excruciating torture without betraying any ſymptom of fear, or indicating a ſenſation of pain. This ſpecies of courage ſeems only to differ from that of civilized nations by the mode in which it is directed.

The leading principles which actuate the ſavages of North America, are their cheriſhing a ſtrong and unalterable attachment for the tribe among whom they were born, the reſpect and tender recollection which they entertain for the memory of their departed friends, and their implacable hatred to their enemies.

The manners and cuſtoms of various nations on the continent of America will, perhaps, compoſe the ſubject of a future diſquiſition.

Although ſituated at an immenſe diſtance from Canada, LOUISIANA was, from its original diſcovery, and other circumſtances, conſidered, at its firſt ſettlement, to be intimately connected with that pro-

vince. The dioceſe of the Biſhop of Quebec extended to the ſettlers of the latter, and the miſſionaries eſtabliſhed there were under his direction. The colony of the Illinois, which was originally attached to Canada, but afterwards added to Louiſiana, had a direct communication with New Orleans, by means of the navigation of the Miſſiſippi, and contributed towards the ſupport of that ſettlement. The Hiſtory of the Eſtabliſhment of Louiſiana is, therefore, not improperly included in that of Canada.

QUEBEC,
26th October 1803.

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

CANADA,

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BOOK I.

Diſcovery of Canada.—Voyages of Jacques Cartier.—Settlement of Quebec by Champlain.—He accompanies the Algonquins and Hurons on Expeditions againſt the Iroquois.—That Nation attack the new Colony, and are repulſed.—Commerce and Government of Canada veſted in a Company of a hundred Aſſociates.—Quebec taken by the Engliſh.—Reſtored to France by the Treaty of St. Germain en Laye.—Death of Champlain the Governor.—His Character.—Eſtabliſhment of the Order of St. Sulpicius on the Iſland of Montreal.

AFTER the diſcovery of America by Chriſtopher Columbus, under the patronage of Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Caſtile, various expeditions from different ports in Europe were fitted out for inveſtigating and exploring

BOOK I.

1492.

BOOK I.

ploring the coaſts of the New World, which had promiſed to its firſt viſitors inexhauſtible ſources of wealth.

1492.

Henry the Seventh, king of England, whoſe œconomy had deprived him of the honour of contributing towards the accompliſhment of an event, the moſt important in its conſequences that had ever taken place among mankind; to atone, in ſome meaſure, for his incredulity and neglect, ſent, in leſs than two years afterwards, on diſcoveries to the weſtward, and with a view alſo of finding a ſhorter paſſage to the Indies, John Gabato, a Venetian, who was the firſt European that viſited Newfoundland, and part of the neighbouring continent.

1500. Another navigator, named Gaſpar de Coterelle, explored all the weſtern coaſt of Newfoundland, and part of Labrador. Not long after this period, the great bank of Newfoundland was frequented by Britiſh and Norman ſailors, for the purpoſe of carrying on the cod fiſheries.

1525. No attention to the eſtabliſhment of ſettlements on the continent of America was paid by any of the powers of Europe, until Francis the Firſt of France ſent out John Verazani to examine the coaſts of that country.

It is much to the credit of the Italians, that the three great ſtates who ſhare the continent of the

the New World, owe to their countrymen the first discoveries which were made in that quarter. BOOK I.

To Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, Spain is indebted for her rich possessions in the western hemisphere.—Jean Gabato and his sons, citizens of Venice, opened to the English a knowledge of the territories which they afterwards occupied; and Verazani, a native of Florence, communicated to the French the first satisfactory information of the tracts of country which were destined to be settled and possessed by that people. 1525.

Another celebrated navigator may be added to these, Americus Vespuccio, a Florentine, who rendered to the Castilians and Portuguese eminent services in the New World; and who, although not the first discoverer of that continent, had the singular and enviable pre-eminence of communicating to it his name.

Verazani, after having made two voyages to America, during the latter of which he ventured to disembark on some parts of the coast, to which he gave names long ago forgotten, set out from France on a third expedition, with a design of establishing a colony on that continent; but having never been afterwards heard of, the thoughts of adventuring thither were for some years abandoned by the French government. 1523 & 1525.

BOOK I.

1525. Philip Chabot, admiral of France, at length prevailed on his ſovereign to reſume the former intention of eſtabliſhing a colony in America, from whence the Spaniards drew immenſe quanties of treaſure. The plan which he ſuggeſted being approved of, Jacques Cartier, a captain of Saint Maloes, was ſelected for carrying it into effect. Having received his inſtructions, Cartier

1534. ſailed from Saint Maloes, on the 20th of April, with two veſſels of twenty tons each, containing twenty-two ſailors. He arrived, on the 10th of May, near Cape Bonaviſta, in the iſland of Newfoundland, and deſcending from thence ſix degrees to the ſouth-eaſt, entered into a harbour, to which he gave the name of Saint Catherine. Proceeding on his courſe towards the north, he diſcovered ſome ſmall iſlands in the Gulf, which he called *Iles aux Oiſeaux*, or Bird Iſlands. After having ſailed for ſome days along the coaſt of Newfoundland, without being able to aſcertain whether or not it was an iſland, he directed his courſe to the ſouthward, and entered into a bay of conſiderable extent, which, from the heat prevalent there at that ſeaſon of the year, he diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Baye de Chaleurs*. This is the ſame which in ſome ancient maps bears the name of *Baye des Eſpagnols*, and it is ſaid, that the Spaniards having landed there, and finding

finding no mines, pronounced repeatedly these two words, "*Aca Nada*," "here is nothing;" which some of the savages having used to the French, made them at first imagine that Canada was the name by which the country was generally known among the natives. When he had coasted a great part of the Gulph, he took possession of the country in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, and setting sail for France on the 15th of August, arrived on the 5th of September at Saint Maloes. BOOK I. 1534.

On the report of this voyage, which was laid before the king and his ministers, it was conceived that considerable advantage might accrue to France by the establishment of a colony in that part of America. Cartier accordingly obtained a commission more ample than the first with which he had been invested, having now under his guidance three ships well equipped. Accompanied by several young gentlemen who wished to attend him as volunteers, he embarked on the 19th of May in *La Grande Hermine*, a vessel of one hundred and twenty tons burden. On the 25th and 26th of July, the three vessels arrived at the place of rendezvous in the Gulph, after encountering on the voyage a severe storm, in which they had been separated. By the violence of the weather, Cartier was compelled, on the 1st of August, to take refuge in a port at the 1535.

BOOK I. 1535.

entrance of the river, and on the northern coaſt, which he called Saint Nicholas, and it is one of the few places in Canada which have retained the names given to them by that navigator. The veſſels again entered the gulph on the 10th of Auguſt, when Cartier gave to a bay, which is ſituated on the north coaſt and oppoſite the iſland of Anticoſti, the name of Saint Laurent, in honour of a Saint in the Romiſh calendar, whoſe faſt is obſerved on that day; a name, which was afterwards extended to the Gulph, and to that immenſe river which there diſembogues its waters, formerly known by the appellation of the river of Canada; which, for vaſtneſs of ſources, length of navigable courſe, and picturesque grandeur, and beautiful ſcenery exhibited by its banks, ſtands unrivalled by any body of freſh waters on the habitable globe. To Anticoſti he gave the title of Aſſumption, but this has now yielded to its former name.

On the 1ſt of September, he entered the mouth of the Saguenay, and thence continuing to range along the coaſt of the Saint Laurence for about fifteen leagues, he anchored near an iſland, which he called l'Iſle aux Coudres, from the quantity of hazle trees with which it abounded. In aſcending the river eight leagues further, he approached another iſland, larger and more beautiful than the laſt, in whoſe woods he diſcovered

covered a number of wild vines, whence he called it l'Iſle de Bacchus, an appellation which afterwards gave place to that of Orleans. From hence he continued his courſe for upwards of ten leagues higher, and arrived at the mouth of a rapid river which flows from the northward, denominated by him la Riviere Sainte Croix, becauſe he entered it on the 14th of September. 1535.

On the 19th of the ſame month, Cartier ſailed in the *Hermine*, to proceed to the iſland of Montreal, on which was an Indian village called Hochelaga; but on the 29th his veſſel getting aground in lake St. Peter, he proſecuted his journey in two long boats well armed, and arrived at Hochelaga on the 2d of October. The inhabitants of this ſettlement received with kindneſs both him and his attendants; and during his ſtay he aſcended the mountain of Montreal, and was highly gratified with the beauty, extent, and variety, which the country preſents to the eye when viewed from the ſummit of that eminence.

The inhabitants of the village were Hurons, who appeared to be inoffenſive in their manners, and as they had never before ſeen any of the human ſpecies of the colour of Europeans, they attributed to them ſomething ſupernatural, and were particularly ſtruck with the appearance and effect of their fire-arms.

BOOK I. 1535.

Cartier left Hochelaga on the 5th of October, and on the 11th arrived at Saint Croix, where, from the advanced ſtate of the ſeaſon, he found it would be neceſſary to paſs the winter. During that period, he and his people were violently attacked by the ſcurvy, which was cured by means of the bark of the fir-tree, from a particular ſpecies of which the Canadian balſam is produced.

In the following year Cartier returned to France, and made a favourable report to his Sovereign of the country which he had viſited and explored.

From the date of this event, nearly four years had elapſed, when François de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval, applied to Francis the Firſt for a commiſſion to proſecute the diſcoveries already made in Canada; and letters patent, bearing date the 15th of January 1540, were granted for this purpoſe, declaring him Seigneur of Norimbegue, Viceroy and Lieutenant-General in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Terre Neuve *, Belliſle, Carpon, Labrador, la Grande Baye †, and Bacculaos, and giving him over all theſe places the ſame power and authority which the king himſelf poſſeſſed.

* Newfoundland. † Bay of Chaleurs.

M. de

M. de Roberval embarked the following year, and ſailed from France with five veſſels, Jacques Cartier accompanying him in the ſtation of firſt captain. The voyage was ſucceſsful, and a fort was conſtructed, according to ſome writers, on the borders of the river Saint Lawrence, to others, on the iſland of Cape Breton; and Jacques Cartier remaining there as a commandant, with ſeveral men, a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, and one of his veſſels, M. de Roberval returned to France to ſolicit more ample ſuccours. 1535.

The poſt appears to have been injudiciouſly choſen, for the cold and other inconveniencies diſcouraged the garriſon, which was likewiſe moleſted by the natives, who, on their part, were offended that ſtrangers ſhould form an eſtabliſhment in their territory. Jacques Cartier deſpairing of the return of M. de Roberval, embarked with his people, with an intention of ſailing for France, but meeting near the coaſt of Newfoundland, the Viceroy, accompanied with a conſiderably ſupply of men, arms and proviſions, was readily prevailed on to join him.

As ſoon as M. de Roberval had re-eſtabliſhed his garriſon, he left Jacques Cartier there a ſecond time, with the greater part of his people; he afterwards aſcended the river Saint Lawrence, and entered the mouth of the Saguenay, from whence he diſpatched one of his pilots to endeavour

BOOK I.

deavour to discover, beyond Newfoundland, a passage to the westward. The pilot sailed no
1535. higher than the 52nd degree of latitude, and returned. The time employed in this voyage to Canada is not mentioned in any extant memoir, but it appears that M. de Roberval did not remain long in that country, as he communicated to Jacques Cartier the discoveries he had made.

He embarked again for Canada a few years afterwards, accompanied by his brother, who had acquired considerable reputation in the army, and was called by Francis the First, le Gendarme d' Annibal. Both they and Cartier perished on this voyage, together with all their attendants, and it never could be known how or where this misfortune happened. With them, every hope of establishing a colony in America became for the present suppressed.

1598. After France, torn by civil wars, had resumed her former tranquillity under Henry the Fourth, the Marquis de la Roche, a gentleman of Breton, obtained from the king the same commission which M. de Roberval had enjoyed. He visited the coast of Acadia, made some observations upon it, and returned to France. Being unable, from unfortunate circumstances, to prosecute his enterprise, his death, it is supposed, was occasioned by disappointment.

From

From the period now mentioned, not more than three years had elapſed, when the Sieur Pontgrave, an expert navigator, and one of the principal merchants of St. Maloes, who had made ſeveral voyages to Tadouſſac, and conceived that conſiderable profit might be reaped from the traffic for furs, if purſued excluſively by one aſſociation, propoſed to M. Chauvin, captain of a veſſel, that a commiſſion for this purpoſe, containing alſo all the prerogatives granted to M. de la Roche, ſhould be procured from the king. That commiſſion having been granted, ſome ſmall veſſels were equipped and ſailed for Tadouſſac, under the guidance of M. Pontgrave, M. Chauvin having alſo made this voyage. The former wiſhed to aſcend as far as Three Rivers, becauſe that place, which he had before examined with care, appeared to him the moſt eligible on which to form a ſettlement. The only intention of the latter, however, was to trade for furs, with which he ſoon loaded his veſſels. He made another voyage for the ſame purpoſe, and with equal ſucceſs. 1598.

M. Chatte, governor of Dieppe, ſucceeding M. Chauvin, formed a company of merchants at Rouen, and fitted out an armament, the conduct of which he committed to Pontgrave, to whom the king had given letters patent for proſecuting diſcoveries, and eſtabliſhing ſettlements in the river

BOOK I. 1598.

river of Canada. Samuel de Champlain, the commander of a veſſel arriving at the ſame time from the Weſt Indies, M. de Chatte propoſed to him to embark for Canada, to which, after obtaining leave of the king, he conſented.

In 1603 they arrived at the place of their deſtination, where Champlain, after remaining for a few days, embarked in a light batteau with five ſailors, and aſcended the St. Lawrence from Tadouſſac as high as the Falls of St. Louis on the ſouth ſide of the iſland of Montreal, where Cartier had formerly been. The village of Hochelaga was found almoſt deſerted, but a very few inhabitants remaining.

He deſcended to the ſhips, and ſailing to Acadia, left a ſmall ſettlement on its coaſt. He reconnoitered the northern coaſt of the Gulph, which he named Malebau, becauſe his veſſel was in danger of being ſtranded. He there wintered, and took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the king his maſter, as alſo of Cape Blanc, which is to the eaſtward.

The company with which Pontgrave and Champlain were concerned, increaſed in number in proportion as the commerce in peltry became more conſiderable. The Maloneſe, in particular, entered with ſuch ſpirit into its views, as greatly tended to an augmentation of its funds.

M. de

M. de Champlain, whoſe inclination did not lead him to take much intereſt in commerce, and whoſe ſentiments were liberal and directed to the public welfare, after having maturely ſearched for the moſt eligible ſpot on which to found a ſettlement, which the court of France deſired might be made on the coaſt of the river, he choſe the promontory of Quebec, where he arrived on the 13th of July. Having erected ſome huts for himſelf and his people, they began to clear the land of the wood with which it was covered. 1603. 1608.

M. de Monts, who was at the head of the aſſociation in which Champlain and Pontgrave were engaged, and who having had a patent for forming ſettlements and trading in North America, had been unſucceſsful in the execution of the objects he had in view with reſpect to Acadia, and had thereby, in a great meaſure, loſt his influence with the men in power. Champlain and Pontgrave attached themſelves nevertheleſs more ſtrongly to his intereſts, and ſailed for America, a year from the date of their laſt voyage, the former with a deſign to ſuccour and advance his ſettlement at Quebec, the latter to proſecute the traffic at Tadouſſac.

The infant colony was found in as good a condition, as from the circumſtances of the climate, and the induſtry of the ſettlers, could be ſuppoſed.

BOOK I. 1608.

poſed. Directions had been given for the cultivation of rye and corn, and the crops produced from both had been ſufficiently abundant. The vine had alſo been planted, but from the long duration and ſeverity of the cold, it gave but faint indication of ever being able to arrive at any degree of maturity or perfection.

The ſavages who frequented and owned the neighbouring country, were called Algonquins. The Montagnez poſſeſſed the territory bordering on the Saguenay and the ſettlement of Tadouſſac. With neither of theſe tribes did the French find any difficulty in forming an alliance, eſpecially as they aſſiſted them in times of want, which not unfrequently happened, particularly when they had been unſucceſsful in the chace.

But the greateſt advantage which theſe natives hoped to derive from the French, was by procuring their aſſiſtance againſt their common enemy the Iroquois.

Champlain having wintered at Quebec, and being there joined in the ſpring by Pontgrave, and a party of Hurons, Algonquins, and Montagnez, who were on their march againſt their common enemy; the former, without due reflection of the future conſequences which might enſue from his early interference in the wars of the ſavages, was perſuaded to accompany them and to become their leader. From hence doubtleſs

leſs may be traced, the calamities and dangers to which afterwards the colony was frequently expoſed, and which at ſome periods threatened its total deſtruction. 1608.

He embarked with his allies, on the river St. Lawrence, and proſecuting their journey in ſmall birch canoes, aſcended the river of the Iroquois, now called Sorel. After paſſing the rapid of Chambly, they encamped before the enemy, and entrenched themſelves towards the land ſide with large ſtakes. It is not the cuſtom of ſavages to fortify themſelves on the ſide towards the water, as they are never attacked from that quarter. They only arrange their canoes by the border of the river, or lake, and the ſurpriſe muſt be ſudden if they have not time to embark, and get beyond the reach of danger before the entrenchment can be forced. When they have encamped, they detach ſcouts to reconnoitre, but this is only a ceremony. The ſcouts never go far from the camp, and if they return without perceiving any ſigns of the enemy, the whole band goes quietly to reſt. They are often the dupes of ſo raſh a confidence in ſecurity, but experience has not taught them to remedy the neglect. The Iroquois alone make war with great circumſpection, which is doubtleſs one of the chief cauſes of the ſuperiority which they have gained over their foes, who do not yield to them

BOOK I. 1608.

them in valour, and whoſe ſuperior numbers ought to have ſubdued them.

Without effect did Champlain repreſent to his allies the danger to which they expoſed themſelves by a conduct ſo extraordinary; the only reply which they made was, that men who had toiled during the day, required to paſs the night in repoſe. The whole of the country through which they paſſed during this expedition, appeared rich and agreeable. A large lake, near thirty leagues in length, and twelve in the broadeſt part, at which they at length arrived, Champlain diſtinguiſhed by his own name, which it has ever ſince retained.

The enemy were met on this lake, but as ſavages ſeldom fight upon the water, both parties gained the ſhore. On the following morning they engaged, when the Iroquois were defeated, chiefly owing to the ſuperiority which the French with their fire arms gave to the allies.

After this expedition, Champlain deſcended to Tadouſſac, where he embarked with M. Pontgrave for France, leaving the colony under the direction of Pierre Chauvin. He was well received by his ſovereign, to whom he gave a particular deſcription of the colony, and of the country in which it was ſettled; and on this occaſion the appellation of New France was firſt given to Canada.

BOOK I.

1610. 7th Mar.

Champlain and Pontgravé embarked at Harfleur to ſail again for New France, having two armed veſſels under their command. They had not long arrived, when the former was ſolicited by the Montagnez and Algonquins to accompany them in a ſecond campaign againſt the Iroquois. They marched to the river Sorel, and Champlain followed them in a barque; but he found not there the number of warriors which his allies had induced him to expect.

He at the ſame time learned that a party compoſed of a hundred Iroquois was not far diſtant, and that if he wiſhed to ſurpriſe them he had not a moment to loſe. He therefore left his barque, and entered into a canoe, attended by four Frenchmen in ſeparate canoes. The confederates had not proceeded on above half an hour, when they ſprung aſhore, without ſaying a word to the French, and deſerting their canoes, ſwiftly ran into the woods. Champlain found himſelf much embarraſſed reſpecting the meaſures he ought to purſue, as he had been forſaken, without a ſingle guide, and had to walk through a marſhy country, and acroſs pathleſs foreſts, infeſted by multitudes of muſquitoes and other winged tribes of torture which cloud the atmoſphere. Having proceeded for ſome time as chance directed, dreading every moment that he might be loſt in the woods, he perceived

BOOK I. 1610.

a ſavage whom he joined. Shortly afterwards an Algonquin captain came to him, and beſought him to quicken his pace, as the allies were engaged with the Iroquois. The ſhouts of the combatants ſoon reached his ears. The allies had attacked the enemy, who were well entrenched, and were repulſed with ſome loſs. At the ſight of the French their courage rekindled, and they rapidly returned to the charge. The Iroquois, who were yet unſkilled in defending themſelves againſt fire arms, began to relax, and to take ſhelter, many of them having fallen by ſhot from the blunderbuſſes. Ammunition at length failing the allies, who had not provided for ſo long a reſiſtance, it was propoſed they ſhould aſſault the entrenchment. Champlain with his four Frenchmen placed himſelf at their head, and notwithſtanding the vigorous defence of the beſieged, a conſiderable breach was made. In the mean time a young Frenchman, whom Champlain had left in his barque, arrived, accompanied by five of his comrades. The fortunate arrival of this ſuccour allowed the aſſailants time to breath, whilſt they alſo kept the enemy engaged. The ſavages again returned to the aſſault, and the French placed themſelves on the wings to ſuſtain them. The Iroquois became overpowered by theſe repeated attacks, and almoſt the whole were killed or captured; ſome running

running to the river, there plunged themſelves headlong and were drowned. The action being thus terminated, there arrived another party of Frenchmen, who were inclined to ſolace themſelves for the loſs of a participation in the honour of the victory, by a ſhare in the diviſion of the ſpoils. They ſeized the beaver ſkins which concealed the nakedneſs of the dead. This gave much umbrage to the allied ſavages; who, by the exerciſe of their uſual cruelty on the priſoners, and by devouring one of them, excited, on the other hand, horror among the French. There the barbarians boaſted of a diſintereſtedneſs, which they were ſurpriſed not to find in their more civilized allies, and conceived it a greater evil to deſpoil the dead, than to eat the fleſh of priſoners, and to violate all the laws of humanity, by taking delight in inflicting the moſt cruel torments on enemies no longer able to defend themſelves.

Champlain demanded of them one of the captives, whom they willingly beſtowed. He alſo engaged the Hurons, who were about to return to their country, to take with them a Frenchman, that he might acquire their language, upon condition that they would allow a young Huron to accompany him to France, that he might be able to report to them the ſtate of that kingdom,

BOOK I.

of which they had already ſo often heard a deſcription.

1610. He accordingly embarked with him the ſame year, and returned the following ſpring, when he conducted him to Montreal, where he choſe a ſpot for a habitation, which he intended to eſtabliſh there; but which, however, he did not carry into execution, being obliged to return to France, where the death of the king had tended to compleat the ruin of the affairs of M. de Monts.

This gentleman, by loſing his maſter, loſt at the ſame time all his remaining intereſt, and found himſelf no longer in a condition to engage in any undertaking. He exhorted Champlain, whom he had never abandoned, not to be diſcouraged, and to ſeek out ſome more powerful patron for the infant colony. He accordingly addreſſed himſelf to Charles de Bombon, Count of Soiſſons, who gave him a favourable reception, agreed to the propoſal which was offered him, of becoming the parent of New France, procured from the queen regent the authority neceſſary to maintain and to advance what had already been begun, and nominated Champlain his lieutenant, with ample and unreſtrained power.

1612. The death of this prince, which happened ſoon afterwards, did not derange the affairs of New

New France, for the Prince of Condé readily condeſcended to take charge of them, and continued Champlain in the employ with which the count had inveſted him. There aroſe, however, ſome difficulties relating to the fur trade, which were occaſioned by merchants of Saint Maloes, and this circumſtance detained him during twelve months in France. 1612.

On his return to Quebec, he found the ſettlement in ſo proſperous a ſtate, that he thought it unneceſſary to remain there, and aſcended with M. Pontgravé to Montreal. After ſpending ſome days on the iſland, the latter deſcended to Quebec, and Champlain made a voyage on the grand river of the Outaouais, whoſe courſe is to the northward of Montreal, and whoſe junction with the waters of the St. Lawrence contributes to ſeparate from the continent that large and beautiful iſland, and the ſmaller Iſle de Jeſus. From thence he returned to Quebec to join Pontgravé, with whom he embarked for St. Maloes, where they arrived in the end of Auguſt.

He then entered into a new plan of aſſociation with merchants of that city, of Rouen, and of Rochelle. The prince, who had aſſumed the title of viceroy of New France, approved of the aſſociation, and procured for that body letters-patent from the king. M. de Champlain, no

BOOK I. 1612.

longer entertaining any doubt that a colony in which ſo many wealthy perſons were now intereſted, and which had for its patron the firſt prince of the blood royal, would ſoon acquire a more permanent and ſolid form, began ſeriouſly to think of providing for it ſpiritual aids, of which it had hitherto been almoſt totally deſtitute. He demanded and obtained four Recolets, whom the company chearfully ſupplied with every neceſſary article, and he conducted them himſelf to Canada.—When they arrived at Quebec, M. de Champlain immediately proceeded to Montreal, where he found a number of Hurons with ſome of their allies, who engaged him in a third expedition againſt the Iroquois. By his complaiſance to theſe ſavages, it muſt be allowed, he took the true means of conciliating their friendſhip, and of becoming acquainted with their country, where he contemplated the eſtabliſhment of a profitable commerce, and the means of their being converted to the Chriſtian faith. But he much expoſed himſelf, and reflected not, that this facility of condeſcenſion to the will of barbarians, was by no means ſuitable for procuring that reſpect which his character and ſituation demanded. Having occaſion to return to Quebec, he requeſted that the ſavages would delay their departure until he rejoined them; but forgetting

their

their promiſe, or being impatient, they embarked with ſome Frenchmen who remained at Montreal, and with Pierre Joſeph le Caron, Recolet, who was willing to embrace this opportunity of accuſtoming himſelf to the ſavage mode of life, that he might more quickly acquire their language, by being under a neceſſity of ſpeaking it. The ſavages having diſregarded their engagement, it appears that Champlain might, without difficulty, have acquitted himſelf of that which he had given, and his experience might have ſuggeſted to him, that to retain reſpect among barbarians, any mark of inſolence or diſtruſt ought not to be paſſed with impunity.—The only circumſtance which can juſtify Champlain in reſolving to follow the Hurons, who diſdained to await his arrival, appears to have been his anxiety for the ſafety of the Recolet, whom his zeal, rather than his prudence, had induced to attend them. 1612.

He therefore departed with two Frenchmen and ten ſavages, whom he met on his arrival at Montreal; and, although they travelled with much expedition, he could not overtake the Hurons, until he approached their village. It was here agreed they ſhould wait until the neighbouring warriors aſſembled. The interval of time was occupied in feſtivity and dancing, and in giving way to the emotions of joy which

BOOK I. 1612.

they appeared to feel at the proſpect of being aided by the Frenchmen in their war, of which they already aſſured themſelves of victory.

The greater part of the people being convened, they left the village on the 1ſt day of September, and paſſed along the borders of a lake three leagues diſtant from thence, where there were extenſive fiſheries reſerved for the winter. An adjoining lake deſcends into the laſt by a narrow channel, in which great quantities of fiſh are caught by means of palliſades, almoſt ſhutting up the paſſage, and leaving only ſmall openings, where nets for enſnaring the fiſh are extended. They there halted a ſhort time, waiting the arrival of the other ſavages, who at length joined, with their arms, proviſions, and other articles. A council was immediately held, in order to make choice of ſome of the moſt reſolute men, whom they might diſpatch to give advice to five hundred warriors who had promiſed to reinforce this expedition. For that purpoſe they diſpatched, in two canoes, twelve of their ſtouteſt men. In the mean time it was reſolved to inveſt the fort of the enemy. After having travelled along a variety of rivers and lakes, during which ſeveral days were occupied, they arrived at the theatre of hoſtility, and before the fortified village. Although it had been agreed that they ſhould not diſcover themſelves until

until the following day, the ſavages immediately entered on ſkirmiſhing. Their impatience would not admit of delay, and ſome of the party having already ventured too far, were cloſely purſued by the enemy. It then became neceſſary that Champlain ſhould advance with his few Frenchmen, and exhibit to the enemy a ſpectacle which that tribe of the Iroquois had not yet witneſſed. No ſooner did they perceive the flaſh, and hear the report of the arquebuſſes, with the noiſe of the balls whiſtling paſt their ears, than they quickly retreated into their fort, carrying with them ſuch as had been killed or wounded in the rencontre. The aſſailants followed their example, and retired to the diſtance of eight hundred yards, from the view of the enemy, together with ſix of their number who had been wounded. This ſtep was contrary to the advice given by Champlain, and to the plan previouſly propoſed to be adopted. He accordingly refrained not from repreſenting the impropriety of their conduct, and prevailed on them to conſtruct a ſpecies of wooden cavaliere to overlook the palliſades, on which would be placed ſome Frenchmen with fire arms to diſlodge the enemy from their galleries. He likewiſe cauſed to be made a kind of mantelettes, to cover and protect the people from the ſhowers of arrows and of ſtones which were poured upon them, to enable them, under

BOOK I. 1612.

under cover, to ſet fire to the palliſades, and to render hazardous any attempt of the enemy to extinguiſh it, by expoſing them to the ſhot from the cavaliere. They applauded this propoſal, and forthwith began to conſtruct the engines recommended. The five hundred men who were expected as a reinforcement did not arrive, which was a circumſtance of diſappointment and diſcouragement. But as the body was yet ſufficiently numerous to take the fort, Champlain preſſed them to loſe no time, aſſuring them that the Iroquois having experienced the force of the fire-arms, whoſe ſhot could penetrate ſubſtances which were proof againſt arrows, had begun to barricade and ſtrengthen their village, already incloſed by four palliſades in depth, formed of ſtrong and large pieces of wood, interwoven with each other, of the altitude of thirty feet. Their galleries were in the manner of parapets, which they had fortified with double pieces of wood, proof againſt the impreſſion of ſhot from the arquebuſſes. Their fort ſtood contiguous to a pond of water, from whence it was plentifully ſupplied by means of a quantity of ducts, by which they could readily throw water to extinguiſh fire, either within or without that ſtructure. An approach was made to the village with the cavaliere carried by two hundred of the ſtrongeſt men, who placed it before the piquets at the diſtance of ſix

or

or ſeven feet, when three Frenchmen, armed with arquebuſſes, were ordered to aſcend it, under cover from the arrows and ſtones which might be ſhot or thrown, in which operation the enemy had not by any means relaxed. The great number of ſhots fired from the cavaliere, which overlooked them, compelled the Iroquois to diſlodge, and to abandon their galleries; and not venturing longer to expoſe themſelves, they fought under cover. The aſſailants neglecting to bring, as they were ordered, the mantelettes, which were deſigned to guard them in conveying fire to the incloſure, abandoned this part of the original plan, and raiſed a loud cry, at the ſame time ſhooting arrows into the fort, which did little execution againſt the enemy. Unaccuſtomed to military diſcipline, or inſtruction in the art of warfare, each ſavage performed whatever he thought moſt proper, and the fort was imprudently ſet fire to, in a ſituation, whence, from the action of the wind, no advantage could be derived. In the mean time the aſſailants were collecting wood to encreaſe the fire, and fell into much confuſion, of which the beſieged taking advantage, poured ſuch a quantity of water through their ſpouts as completely to defeat its effect. In this attempt, where two of the principal chiefs were wounded, ſome of the others propoſed a retreat, and a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities,

BOOK I. 1612.

until the arrival of the five hundred men, who, they affirmed, would ſoon form a junction.

The chiefs have little command over their followers, and act as caprice ſuggeſts; a certain cauſe of the diſorder and failure of all their undertakings, eſpecially when they attempt to engage an enemy who is prepared for the encounter, and acts upon the defenſive.

Some days having elapſed, and the five hundred men not arriving, they deliberated on their departure; they were in vain ſolicited by Champlain to make another attempt at deſtroying the fort by fire, on a day when the wind was favourable for that project, and blew with conſiderable ſtrength. They began to conſtruct baſkets for tranſporting the wounded, who are placed within them, folded together and bound with cords in ſuch a manner as to deprive them of all motion, occaſioning them to ſuffer the moſt ſevere and excruciating pain; a ſtate which Champlain himſelf was unfortunately neceſſitated to experience, having been badly wounded in the knee.

The enemy purſued them about half a league, keeping at a ſmall diſtance, and endeavouring to lay hold of ſome of the rear-guard, but finding that they acted with caution, at length withdrew.

The ſavages make their retreat with great ſecurity, placing all the wounded and aged in the centre, being well guarded on the van and on the

the rear, and diſpoſed according to their mode of order, until they arrive at a place where they conceive themſelves perfectly free from attack. 1612.

The Iroquois never make a laſting peace with nations whom they have once conquered, or whom they hope to overcome by diviſions, which they diſſeminate amongſt them with great addreſs.

Champlain ſoon recovered from his wound, and wiſhed to proceed on his return to Quebec, but could not obtain a guide who had been promiſed him, and the Hurons accompanied their refuſal with ſome indications of diſreſpect. It became therefore neceſſary that he ſhould winter among theſe barbarians. He employed himſelf during that ſeaſon in viſiting the villages of the Hurons, and ſome of thoſe belonging to the Algonquins, ſituated on the borders of lake Nipiſſing. He reconciled ſome neighbouring tribes with the Hurons; and ſo ſoon as the navigation of the rivers was open, having learnt that they wiſhed to engage him in a new enterpriſe againſt the Iroquois, he perſuaded ſome ſavages, who were attached to him from the mildneſs of his manners, to accompany him, and ſecretly embarked with Pierre Joſeph for Quebec, where he arrived on the 11th of July 1616. He ſoon afterwards returned to France. 1616.

The

BOOK I.

1616.

The allies, from ſome motives of diſſatisfaction, had meditated the deſtruction of the French. They probably were inclined to adopt this reſolution from the apprehenſion that when Champlain returned from France, he would inflict ſignal vengeance on them for the death of two French inhabitants, whom they had aſſaſſinated, perhaps from a view of poſſeſſing ſome articles of their property. They aſſembled to the number of eight hundred, near Three Rivers, to deliberate on the means of cruſhing at the ſame time all the French; but Frere Pacifique, a Recolet, came to a knowledge of their deſign by means of one of their number, and by degrees diſſuaded the greateſt part of them from any longer entertaining that intention. They accordingly made propoſals for a reconciliation, and the miſſionary charged himſelf with negociating with the commandant for that purpoſe. Champlain, however, on his return, demanded the two aſſaſſins; one of them, who was the leaſt culpable, was ſent to him, together with a quantity of furs "to cover the deed," or to make an atonement to the ſurviving friends. It was neceſſary to accept of this ſpecies of ſatisfaction; an accommodation took place, and the ſavages gave two of their chiefs as hoſtages.

The colony never received from France the aſſiſtance which was requiſite for its advancement and

and prosperity. The court took no interference in its affairs, which were left to the company, whose views were solely directed to the fur trade. The Prince of Condé did little more than lend his name, which contributed nothing to the advantage of the settlement; besides, the troubles during the regency, which cost him his liberty, and the intrigues which were carried on to deprive him of the title of viceroy, and to revoke the commission of Maréchal de Themines, to whom he had entrusted the patronage of Canada during his imprisonment; the want of unanimity among the associates, the jealousy of commerce which divided them, all these circumstances frequently endangered the existence of so young an establishment. BOOK I. 1616.

The perseverance of Champlain was therefore highly laudable, as he had a multitude of obstacles to encounter and to overcome. He never, however, abandoned his object, although he had to struggle against the caprices of some, and the contradiction of others.

The Prince de Condé resigned for eleven thousand crowns his viceroyalty to the Maréchal de Montmorenci, his brother-in-law, who continued Champlain in the lieutenancy, and charged with the affairs of the colony in France, M. Dolu, grand auditor, with whose probity and zeal he was well acquainted. At that period, Champlain, 1620.

BOOK I. 1620.

plain, perſuaded that New France would aſſume a more favourable aſpect, brought thither his family. He arrived in Canada in the month of May, and found at Tadouſſac ſome traders from Rochelle, who, to the prejudice of the company, and contrary to the expreſs prohibition of the monarch, were trafficking with the ſavages. They were the firſt who ſold them fire-arms, as theſe inſtruments of death had hitherto been carefully withheld from the barbarians.

In the following year the Iroquois appeared in arms in the very centre of the colony. Theſe ſavages dreading leſt the French ſhould become populous in the country, and by their alliance with the Hurons and Algonquins, raiſe theſe tribes to a condition of reſuming their former ſuperiority, reſolved to cruſh them before they had time to gain a greater acceſſion of ſtrength. They aſſembled three conſiderable bodies for ſeparate attacks. The firſt moved towards the rapids of St. Louis, near Montreal, and there found ſome Frenchmen who guarded the paſſage, and who had been made acquainted with their movements. Although the number of the latter was few, yet with the aid of the ſavage allies, they obliged the enemy to retreat. Several of the Iroquois were killed, ſome were taken priſoners, and the remainder ſaved themſelves by

by flight, carrying, however, with them a Recolet, whoſe name was Poulalu. They were purſued without ſucceſs. At length the French detached one of the priſoners, to whom they gave his liberty, recommending him to propoſe an exchange of the miſſionary for one of their chiefs. This man arrived at the moment of time to ſave the Recolet from the flames. The propoſal with which he was charged was accepted, and the exchange was accordingly made. 1620.

The ſecond party, embarked in thirty canoes, approached Quebec, and went to inveſt the convent of Recolets on the river Saint Charles, where there was a ſmall fort. Not venturing to attack that place, they ſurpriſed a party of Hurons at no great diſtance from thence. They then laid waſte the cultivated lands in the vicinity of the convent, and retired. What became of the third party is not related in the memoir. The neceſſity of having ſufficient force to repreſs the daring aggreſſion of theſe ſavages, became now more than ever apparent, and Champlain conceived that he ought without delay to repreſent to the king and to the duke de Montmorenci, the neceſſity of ſending a reinforcement, and likewiſe to explain to theſe perſonages the conduct of the company, who had diſregarded his reiterated applications to induce them to fulfil their engagements. He de-

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puted for this ſervice Pierre George le Baillif, who was perſonally known to the king. His reception was favourable and gracious, and he obtained his demand. The company was ſuppreſſed, and two gentlemen, named William and Emeric de Caën, uncle and nephew, entered into all its privileges.

Champlain was commanded, in a letter from the viceroy, to maintain a ſtrict authority over the commercial inhabitants. He at the ſame time received a letter from the king himſelf, aſſuring him that he was well ſatisfied with his ſervices, and exhorting him to continue the ſame proofs of his fidelity. This mark of honour did not tend to augment his fortune, which indeed did not much occupy his mind; but it inveſted him with an authority of which he had greater need than ever, on account of the conteſts which daily aroſe between the agents of the old company and thoſe of the Sieurs de Caën, and which otherwiſe might have produced an unfortunate iſſue. Although he aſſiduouſly endeavoured to attract inhabitants to ſettle at Quebec, and gave every poſſible encouragement to the increaſe of population, yet in 1622 the total number amounted to no more than fifty perſons, including women and children. Commerce was not very flouriſhing, but the traffic for furs was conducted at Tadouſſac with much ſucceſs, and another mart was

was opened at Three Rivers, twenty-five leagues above Quebec.

William de Caën came himſelf to Canada; Sieur Pontgravé, to whom he had committed the management of his affairs, being obliged on account of bad health to return to his native country. His final departure was a great loſs to the colony, as to his exertions it had been very much indebted. 1622.

About the ſame period Champlain was informed that the Hurons propoſed to detach themſelves from their alliance with the French, and to unite with the Iroquois. On this account he ſent, as an ambaſſador among them, Pierre Joſeph le Caron, accompanied by Pierre Nicholas Viel, and Fr. Gabriel Saghart, with directions to uſe every means in their power to diſſuade thoſe ſavages from embracing that line of conduct.

In the following year the commandant fortified the ſettlement with a ſtone redoubt, and as ſoon as he had completed it, returned to France withhis fa mily.

The Maréchal de Montmorenci reſigned his charge of Viceroy in favour of the Duke de Ventadour his nephew, who had retired from court, and entered into holy orders. He took charge of the affairs of New France with a view of being inſtrumental in promoting the converſion of the natives, and he conſidered the Jeſuits

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as a claſs from whom the moſt effectual aid could be derived for the execution of this project. He laid his propoſal before the king's council, by whom it was highly approved. Five Jeſuits were accordingly ſent out to Canada, under the protection of William de Caën, who aſſured the viceroy that nothing ſhould be wanting to contribute to their comfort. They had however ſcarcely landed, when they were informed that the Recolets would not give them an aſylum, and that therefore the moſt eligible meaſure would be to return to France. They ſoon perceived that means had been employed to prejudice the inhabitants of Quebec againſt them, by putting into their hands all the injurious publications which the Calviniſts of France had produced againſt their ſociety. But their preſence ſoon effaced theſe hurtful impreſſions; the libels were publicly burnt, and the Jeſuits were lodged in the houſe of the Recolets on the banks of the river St. Charles.

Some Frenchmen having been aſſaſſinated by the ſavages, the colony experienced great inquietudes; and as the inhabitants were not in a condition ſufficiently powerful to revenge themſelves, impunity had augmented the inſolence of the barbarians ſo much, that they who happened to go any diſtance from habitations, were in imminent danger of loſing their lives. Such was

their ſituation when Champlain returned to Quebec. The fortifications were not improved during his abſence, and the lands which had been cleared remained for the greateſt part uncultivated. The aſſociates of the Sieurs de Caën thought of little elſe than the traffic for furs, and being Calviniſts, their ſentiments increaſed in aſperity towards thoſe of a different ſyſtem of religion. Theſe circumſtances being ſtrongly repreſented to the council of the king, induced the Cardinal Richlieu to reſolve on placing the commerce of New France in other hands, and to liſten to a propoſal which was preſented, of forming a company of a hundred aſſociates. 1622.

Nothing could be better conceived, and it would in a ſhort time have made the colony the moſt powerful in America, had the execution of it been equal to its merit, and had the members of this body kept pace with the favourable diſpoſition then ſhewn by the king and his miniſters towards them.

The memorial which was preſented to the Cardinal de Richlieu by M. de Roquemont, Houel, de Lattaignant, Dablon, Du Cheſne, and Caſtillon, imported, that in the following year, the aſſociated body would ſend to New France 300 workmen of trades of every deſcription; and before the year 1643, would augment the number of inhabitants to 6000, would

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lodge, victual, and ſupply them with every neceſſary of life for the ſpace of three years, and concede to them afterwards as much cleared land as was requiſite for their ſubſiſtence, and likewiſe allow them grain for ſowing it; that in each ſettlement they would eſtabliſh at leaſt three prieſts, and that the charges of their miniſtry, their cloathing, and every thing requiſite for their perſonal comfort, ſhould be defrayed for fifteen years by the company; at the expiration of that period, it was propoſed they ſhould ſubſiſt themſelves upon cleared lands which would be granted them.

In return for theſe engagements, the king beſtowed on the company, and on their ſucceſſors for ever, the fort and ſettlement of Quebec, all the territory of New France, comprehending Florida, all the courſe of the great river, and of other rivers which diſcharged themſelves thereinto, or which throughout this vaſt extent of country, diſembogue themſelves into the ſea on the eaſtern or weſtern extremity of the continent; alſo the iſlands, harbours, mines, and right of fiſhing. His majeſty only reſerved to himſelf the ſupremacy of the faith and homage, with the right to a crown of gold of the weight of eight marks, on each new ſucceſſion to the throne, and the appointment of the officers of juſtice, who may be named and preſented by the company

company whenever it ſhould be deemed neceſſary to eſtabliſh a court of law. The king further conferred on that company the privilege of conceding lands in whatever portions they might think proper, the power of conferring titles of honour according to the merit and condition of perſons, with whatever charges, reſervations and terms; but in caſe of the erection of marquiſates, earldoms, counties and baronies, that they ſhould receive letters of confirmation from the king, on the repreſentation of Cardinal Richlieu, chief and ſuperintendant of the navigation and commerce of New France.

1622.

That the aſſociates might fully and peaceably enjoy the privileges, rights, and immunities granted them, all former conceſſions of lands, harbours, or parts thereof, were revoked; and the king further beſtowed on them the traffic in leather, ſkins, and furs, for fifteen years only, as well as all other commerce by land or water, which could be carried on, in whatever manner, throughout the known extent of Canada, or as far as, during that period, it might be extended; reſerving only free to all his ſubjects, the right to fiſh for cod and whales; revoking all other grants to the contrary, and prohibiting during the time mentioned, the exerciſe of all former excluſive rights of commerce, under penalty of confiſcation of veſſel and cargo for the benefit of

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the company; unleſs the Cardinal Richlieu ſhould give leave in writing to any individual to trade to thoſe places. It was, however, the king's pleaſure, that the European inhabitants of New France, who were neither maintained nor paid at the company's expence, might freely carry on the fur trade with the ſavages, on condition that they ſhould ſell the beaver ſkins to the agents of the company only, who ſhould be obliged to pay them for each, if in good condition, at leaſt forty *ſols tournois*; but forbidding them to be ſold to any other perſons, under riſk of confiſcation.

The king engaged to preſent to the company two veſſels of war, from two to three hundred tons burden, which they were to replace, ſhould they by any accident be loſt, except in the event of their being captured by an open enemy.

Should the company fail in ſending to New France in the courſe of the firſt ten years, at leaſt 1500 French of both ſexes, they were to reſtore to the king the ſum expended for the two veſſels of war.

The nomination of all captains and commandants of forts and places already conſtructed, or to be conſtructed in the extent of the country granted, was reſerved for the royal pleaſure.

It was further ordained, that all artificers among the number of thoſe whom the company ſhould engage to paſs thither, after exerciſing their

their trades for six years, might, if they inclined to return to their native country, be entitled to establish themselves in any trading town there, on the production of an authentic certificate of such services. That it should be permitted to all persons of whatever quality or condition, ecclesiastics, nobles, officers of the army, or others, to enter into that association without derogating from the privileges attached to their orders. That his majesty would, should it happen there were no nobles among the associates, ennoble twelve, and for this effect would issue twelve letters of nobility signed and sealed, with the names blank, to be conferred on such as should from time to time be presented by the company. That the descendants of Frenchmen inhabiting Canada, and likewise savages who should be converted to the Christian faith, and made profession of the same, should be reputed natural born Frenchmen, and like them could live in France, and there acquire, succeed to, bequeath, and accept donations and legacies, the same as the other inhabitants or subjects of the kingdom, without being compelled to procure letters of declaration. 1622.

Louis XIII. concluded by asserting, that if the associates discovered in the sequel that it might be necessary for them to explain or amplify any of the foregoing articles, or to add new ones, according

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according to exigencies, it ſhould be complied with, on their repreſentation.

The grant, of which the above are the articles, was ſigned on the 19th of April 1627 by the Cardinal Richlieu, and by thoſe who had preſented the project. The king approved of them by an edict dated in the month of May, at the camp before Rochelle, and therein were at full length explained the various heads, which have here been ſtated in abridgement.

Upon the publication of the edict, the Duke de Ventadour reſigned to his majeſty the office of viceroy. The aſſociates, who now aſſumed the appellation of the company of New France, ſoon amounted to the number of one hundred and ſeven, of whom the Cardinal Richlieu, and the Maréchal Defiat, ſuperintendant of finances, were the chiefs. M. M. de Razili and Champlain, the Abbey of la Madelaine, and ſeveral other perſons of condition, became members; the greater number were compoſed of rich merchants of Paris, and ſeveral of the commercial towns. In fine, there was every inducement for ſuppoſing that New France would ſoon become an object of importance, when ſupported by ſo numerous and powerful an aſſociation.

In the mean time, this new inſtitution was in its commencement marked by an unfavourable event. The firſt veſſels ſent by the company to America,

America, were captured by the Engliſh, who were then at hoſtility with France, although war had not been declared.

In the following year, David Kertk, a French- 1628.
man, native of Dieppe, but a Calvaniſt and refugee in England, ſolicited, it was ſaid by William de Caën, who meditated revenge for the privation of his excluſive privilege, advanced with a ſquadron to Tadouſſac, and detached a part of his veſſels up the river, to burn the houſes and carry off the cattle from the meadows at the bottom of Cape Tourmenti, a lofty ridge of mountains which abruptly riſes from the ſide of the St. Lawrence. The perſon who was entruſted with the execution of this ſervice had inſtructions to aſcend to Quebec, and to ſummon the garriſon to a ſurrender. Champlain and Pontgravé happened both to be there, and after due deliberation, and ſounding the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, it was reſolved to make an obſtinate defence, and ſo ſpirited an anſwer was ſent to the Engliſh captain, that he thought it adviſable to retire. The inhabitants, notwithſtanding, were reduced to ſeven ounces of bread per day, and there were only five pounds of powder in the garriſon. Kertk, who doubtleſs was ignorant of their real ſituation, believed, on the other hand, that he ſhould derive more advantage with leſs trouble, in capturing a convoy of the new company, com-

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commanded by M. de Roquemont, one of its partners, and which was conducting to Quebec

1628. ſeveral families, with every ſpecies of proviſion.

The misfortune of M. de Roquemont aroſe leſs from the advantage of the intelligence which had been communicated by Caën, than from his own imprudent conduct. On arriving in the road of Gaſpé, he diſpatched a barque, to give Champlain advice of the ſupplies he was conducting, and to carry him a commiſſion from the king, appointing him governor over all New France, with orders to procure an inventory of all the effects which belonged to the Sieurs de Caën. Not many days afterwards, he learned that Kertk was not far diſtant, and he immediately weighed anchor to go in ſearch of him, without reflecting, that he ſhould expoſe to the doubtful deciſion of an engagement, with the diſadvantage of his ſhips being deeply laden, the whole reſource of the colony. He was not long in meeting with the Engliſh, whom he attacked, and fought with ſpirit; but unfortunately for him his veſſels were not only incapable of manœuvering as well as thoſe of Kertk, but were alſo inferior in force: they were ſoon diſabled in their rigging, and compelled to ſurrender.

1629. The harveſt of this year was extremely moderate; eels caught in the river, and ſome deer brought by the ſavages from the chace, enabled the

the inhabitants to ſubſiſt for two or three months; but theſe ſources being exhauſted, they were reduced to their former extremity. Only one reſource remained, on which to reſt their expectations. Pierres Philibert Noyrot, ſuperior of the Jeſuits, and Charles Lallemant, had gone to France in queſt of ſupplies, and by the generoſity of their friends, had amaſſed a ſufficient fund to enable them to freight a ſhip, and load it with proviſions. They embarked together with two other Jeſuits, but the veſſel never arrived at Quebec. A ſtrong gale threw her on the coaſt of Acadia, where ſhe was wrecked. 1629.

The neceſſitous condition to which the ſettlement was reduced, was not the cauſe of his greateſt inquietude to the governor. The ſavages, ſince the new eſtabliſhments of the Engliſh in America, appeared more alienated from the French; and their growing diſlike was, it muſt be confeſſed, not without foundation. There exiſted among the inhabitants a mixture of different religions, and political principles. The Huguenots, whom the Sieur de Caën had introduced, did not pay to the lawful authority too great a reſpect; and all the firmneſs diſplayed by Champlain proved ſcarcely ſufficient to check or repreſs the irregularities practiſed by ſubjects not well affected to the government.

In

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In this cloudy ſituation of affairs, he conceived, that if ſupplies did not ſoon arrive, the beſt plan which he could adopt would be to make war upon the Iroquois, and ſubſiſt at their expence. The late incurſions of theſe barbarians, and the acts of hoſtility which they were daily committing, furniſhed him for this meaſure with a juſt pretence. But when matters were arranged for the departure of the French on this expedition, it was found that their ammunition was almoſt exhauſted. Neceſſity then obliged the governor and his people to remain at Quebec, where there was not a ſufficient means of ſupport. They were reduced to go in ſearch of herbs and roots, and to exiſt on the ſpontaneous productions of unaſſiſted nature. In this calamitous extremity, after the intelligence which was received of the loſs of the veſſels from France, the moſt agreeable proſpect which could open, was that of the return of the Engliſh.

In the end of July, three months after their proviſions had been entirely exhauſted, it was announced that ſome Engliſh veſſels were ſeen behind Port Levi, which, with the iſland of Orleans and the coaſt of Beauport, forms the baſon of Quebec. No doubt could be entertained of their being part of the Engliſh ſquadron, and the gover-

governor conſidered Kertk leſs in the view of an enemy, than as a deliverer, to whom he ſhould owe the obligation of ſaving him and his colony from falling a prey to miſery and misfortune. BOOK I. 1629.

Soon after the receipt of this intelligence, a boat with a white flag appeared. The officer who commanded it, after having advanced to the middle of the baſon, ſtopped as if to demand permiſſion to approach; a ſimilar flag, in token of aſſent, was immediately hoiſted, and the officer, as ſoon as he landed, preſented to the governor a letter from Louis and Thomas Kertk, brothers of the admiral.

The letter contained a ſummons to ſurrender, in terms the moſt delicate and polite. The two brothers, of whom the one was intended for the command of Quebec, and the other commander of a ſquadron, of which the greater part had remained at Tadouſſac, acquainted Champlain that they were well informed of the diſtreſſed ſituation of his colony, but notwithſtanding, if he would peaceably reſign his fort, he ſhould be at liberty to dictate his own conditions, which, with trifling limitations, were granted. On the following day Kertk took poſſeſſion of the fort, and treated the inhabitants with much humanity. It was the intereſt of the Engliſh that thoſe ſettlers who had cleared lands ſhould remain in the country, and as an inducement, very advantageous

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vantageous terms were offered them. They were aſſured, that after experiencing the Engliſh government for twelve months, if they diſliked their ſituation, he would get them conveyed to Europe. As the generoſity of his conduct had prejudiced many of the ſettlers in his favour, and as moſt of them would have been reduced to a ſtate of mendicity had they repaſſed the ſea, nearly all agreed to remain.

1629.

1632. The conſideration of the ſmall importance of Quebec to the ſtate, viewed either as an object of policy or intereſt, induced the majority of the French cabinet to lay aſide the intention of negociating for its reſtitution. But ſeveral motives, notwithſtanding, at length determined Louis XIII. not to abandon Canada. The principal were thoſe of honour and religion, which Champlain, who poſſeſſed much piety and worth, tended by his perſuaſions, not a little to ſtrengthen and confirm.

At the inſtigation of Lord Montagu, the court of England reſigned, without much difficulty, the conqueſt, which otherwiſe might have occaſioned freſh hoſtilities. The treaty was ſigned at Saint Germain en Laye, the 29th of March 1632, in which Acadia and Cape Breton were alſo comprehended.

The ſettlement in the former was extremely inconſiderable; this poſt, however, the fort of Quebec

Quebec containing ſome houſes and barracks, a few huts in the Iſland of Montreal, as many at Tadouſſac, and at ſome other ſpots on the borders of the St. Laurence, for the convenience of fiſhing, and traffic with the natives, the commencement of a ſettlement at Three Rivers, and the ruins of Port Royal, compoſed the whole extent of the ſettlements of New France; and all the fruits yet derived from the diſcoveries of Verazani, Cartier, Roberval, Champlain, from the great expences diſburſed by the marquis de la Roche and by Monts, and from the induſtry of a conſiderable number of Frenchmen, who might have raiſed theſe eſtabliſhments to a ſtate of higher importance, had their ſeveral efforts been judiciouſly directed. 1632.

Quebec being accordingly reſtored to the French, was delivered up by Louis Kertk to Emery de Caën; and, to compenſate for a loſs which he had ſuſtained by the capture in the river St. Laurence of a veſſel and cargo of his property, which were deſtined for the relief of the ſettlement, government beſtowed on him for the ſpace of a year, the excluſive profits of the fur trade.

The company of New France reſumed all their rights, and Acadia was granted to M. de Razili, on condition that he ſhould there eſtabliſh a colony. In the ſame year, Champlain, whom 1633.

BOOK I.

1633. the company, in virtue of their charter, preſented to the king, was nominated afreſh governor of New France, for which he ſailed with a ſquadron, containing more property than the value of the whole ſettlement could be eſtimated at. On his arrival he found the greateſt part of his former coloniſts; and having landed the new ſettlers, whom he brought with him, he exhorted them ſedulouſly to avoid the errors which had given riſe to the paſt misfortunes of the colony.

The court of France had ſtrictly enjoined that no Proteſtant ſhould ſettle in Canada, and that the Catholic religion only ſhould there be tolerated. It had been found, that the late capture of Quebec was principally effected by means of the Calviniſts, and experience ſuggeſted that it would not be prudent to admit ſectaries in religion, where the powers of the government were inadequate to inſure ſubmiſſion to the lawful authority.

Great attention had been beſtowed in the choice of both male and female emigrants for New France; and it is generally aſſerted, that the accounts given in ſome of the old memoirs reſpecting the mediocrity of virtue in the women, and the mode in which they were ſelected for wives on their landing in the ſettlement, are devoid of correctneſs. Whatever may have been their

their former character, they demeaned themſelves in the ſequel with much prudence and propriety of conduct, and an open and exemplary profeſſion of piety was generally exhibited by the inhabitants. BOOK I. 1633.

A circumſtance which tended to ſtrengthen this attachment to religion and good order, was the eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits at Quebec. A ſon of the Marquis de Gamache had obtained permiſſion from his family, about ten years before this period, to enter into the company of Jeſuits; and his relations, by whom he was much beloved, becoming acquainted with an ardent deſire he entertained of being the founder of a college at Quebec, cheerfully conſented to gratify him in accompliſhing this meaſure. They wrote on the ſubject to Pierre Mutio Vitelleſhi, general of the Jeſuits, and offered him ſix thouſand crowns in gold, for the purpoſe of carrying on this foundation. The donation was readily accepted, but the capture of the ſettlement ſuſpended the project for a time.

The college was commenced in the month of December this year; but the ſatisfaction derived from that event was ſoon after damped by the death of Champlain, the governor. 1635.

A man of uncommon penetration and diſintereſted views, he acquitted himſelf with honour

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1635.

and credit in dangerous and critical conjunctures. His unabated conſtancy in the purſuit of plans on which he had reſolved, his unſhaken firmneſs in great calamities, his ardent and amiable zeal for the welfare of his country, his tenderneſs and compaſſion for the misfortunes of others, his attention to promote the intereſt of his friends often in preference to his own, denoted him a character well qualified to diſcharge the duties of the ſituation which fortune had deſtined him to fill. His memoirs afford teſtimony of his profeſſional knowledge, and evince him to have been a faithful hiſtorian, a traveller who regarded with attention whatever new objects preſented themſelves to his obſervation, a geometrician, and a ſkilful navigator. The chief object of his ambition ſeems to have been that of becoming the parent and founder of a colony: an ambition the moſt laudable which can occupy the human mind.

M. de Montmagny, who ſucceeded Champlain in the government, and M. de Liſle, who commanded at Three Rivers, were both Knights of Malta. The former entered into the views of his predeceſſor, but he was in want of men and finances. Every thing appeared in a languiſhing condition, the fur trade excepted, which tended to enrich ſome merchants and a few of the inhabitants.

It

It would be a difficult taſk to explain by what fatality a company ſo numerous and powerful as that which governed Canada, and which conſidered this country as its domain, ſhould thus abandon a colony, whence they had once formed favourable expectations, where the unanimity of its members co-operated for the ſucceſs of the enterpriſes which they attempted, and which would have flouriſhed had the hundred aſſociates ſupplied money for defraying its neceſſary expences. 1635.

An eſtabliſhment was this year begun on the north ſhore of the river St. Laurence, about a league from Quebec, to which was given the name of Sillery. It was intended as a religious inſtitution for the inſtruction and converſion of ſavages, and twelve French families ſettled there. 1636.

The Hotel Dieu was founded under the patronage of Madame la Ducheſſe d'Aiguillon. To procure perſons ſuitable for this inſtitution, ſhe applied to the hoſpital at Dieppe, and three nuns were choſen from thence, who cheerfully undertook the charitable ſervice for which they were engaged. 1638.

The nunnery of Urſulines was begun in the enſuing year, Madame de la Peltrie, a young widow of condition in France, being its foundreſs.

BOOK I. 1638.

She went from Alençon, the place of her reſidence, to Paris, to ſettle the preparatives for the undertaking; to Tours, to engage ſiſters of the Urſulines; from thence to Dieppe, where ſhe had given directions for a veſſel to be freighted; on the 4th of May ſhe there embarked, and arrived at Quebec three months afterwards.

The boldneſs and inſolence of the Iroquois had very much augmented, and they had captured ſeveral canoes of the Hurons which were on their way to Quebec, loaded with furs. This proceeded from a want of energy in the colony, and from the ſmallneſs of its military force, which alone could hold the balance between two ſavage nations, who, with all their numbers, could not have reſiſted four thouſand French.

The company paid no attention to the colony, and it fell into a ſtate of decline. An enterpriſe which was then about to be commenced, that of peopling and fortifying a part of the iſland of Montreal, brought ſome conſolation to M. de Montmagny, and flattered him with the hope, that in a little time the Iroquois would no longer dare to advance, and brave him under the cannon of his fort.

The firſt miſſionaries had comprehended the importance of occupying the iſland of Montreal, but the company of Canada entered not into their views. It then became neceſſary that individuals

dividuals ſhould charge themſelves with the execution of a deſign ſo advantageous to New France, and which the continued hoſtility of the Iroquois likewiſe rendered neceſſary. 1638.

The Abbe Olivier, who reformed the clergy in France, and inſtituted alſo the ſeminary of St. Sulpicius in that country, projected for Canada a religious order of the ſame name, and on the ſame plan, and for its ſupport the whole iſland of Montreal was granted by the French king.

The Sieur Maiſonneuve, and another perſon friendly to the inſtitution, accompanied by ſeveral families, and a young lady whoſe name was Manſe, arrived at Quebec. M. de Montmagny proceeded with them to Montreal, attended by ſome of the principal inhabitants, and M. Maiſonneuve was ſolemnly inveſted with the government of that iſland, in behalf of the religious order of St. Sulpicius.

On the 17th of May following, the place deſtined for the ſettlement of the French, was conſecrated by the ſuperior of the Jeſuits.

BOOK II.

Conſtruction of Fort Richlieu.—Interview with the Iroquois Deputies at Three Rivers.—Maſſacre of the Hurons at St. Joſeph.—Incurſion againſt the Hurons.—Calamities of that People.—Fifty Frenchmen ſettle among the Iroquois.—Pillage of the Iſland of Orleans.—Eſcape of the French Settlers from the Country of the Iroquois.—Arrival of the firſt Biſhop.—Diſtreſs of the Colony.—Erection of a Seminary at Quebec.—Tremendous Earthquake.—Eſtabliſhment of a permanent Council.—Engliſh take Poſſeſſion of New Belgium.

BOOK II.

1638.

THE audacity which the Iroquois had ſhewn, by appearing in arms before Three Rivers, and the inſolence of their conduct to the Governor-General, afforded him ſubject of much diſquietude. He found it neceſſary to adopt immediate meaſures for guarding againſt a ſurpriſe, and for repelling the hoſtile efforts of a nation, on whoſe engagement no dependence could be placed, and who ſeemed reſolute, either by policy or by force, to give law to the whole country.

It was then determined to conſtruct a fort at the entrance of a river which was called the river of the Iroquois, but is now known by that of Sorel. In a ſhort time it was completed, although

though the people employed in that ſervice were interrupted by the repeated attacks of ſeven hundred Iroquois, whom they ſucceſsfully repulſed. To the fort was given the name of Richlieu, and a garriſon as ſtrong as circumſtances would allow was ſtationed for its defence. 1638.

Although the Iroquois ſeemed intent on carrying to extremity, war againſt the French and their allies, they from time to time indicated an inclination for peace; an event which the governor earneſtly wiſhed for, becauſe he was not in a condition to ſupport hoſtilities; and by continuing in a ſtate of warfare no advantage could be gained. Had it been in his power to have concealed from his enemies his weakneſs, he might have profited by that conjuncture to ſave the honour of the colony; but he was deſtitute of this reſource, and the Iroquois confidently boaſted that they ſhould compel the French to repaſs the ſea. The governor, convinced from his ſituation that the only means remaining to diſarm the ferocity of theſe barbarians, were to act on the defenſive, he was not able to aſſume the tone of obliging them to obſerve a neutrality towards the ſettlement. Reduced, then, to the adoption of meaſures little conſiſtent with his character, he endeavoured to veil them under ſome honourable pretext, and at the hazard of ſeeming the dupe of advances, no leſs inſidious and inſincere, than aſſuming

BOOK II. 1638.

aſſuming and ferocious, he pretended to regard them with an air of confidence, from a view of procuring the reſtoration of captives, the ſafety of convoys, to avert the ruin of commerce, and to gain a truce, that he might have the means of recruiting his ſtrength.

The native allies of the French being equally ſolicitous for peace, he waited until, through their means, a favourable opportunity preſented itſelf. On this occaſion he went to Three Rivers, where having erected a tent in the fort, he placed himſelf in a chair, having on either ſide of him the officers and principal inhabitants of the colony. The deputies of the Iroquois were ſeated on a matt near his feet; they had choſen this place to mark their reſpect for Ononthio, the governor, whom they always diſtinguiſhed by that appellation, and whom they generally addreſſed by the title of father.

The Algonquins, the Montagnez, the Attikamegues, and ſome other ſavages who ſpoke the ſame language, were oppoſite, and the Hurons were mixed with the French. The middle ſpace was unoccupied, that the neceſſary evolutions might be made without embarraſſment and interruption.

The Iroquois had provided themſelves with ſeventeen belts, which were equal to the number of

of propoſitions they had to diſcuſs; and to expoſe them to view in the order in which they were to be explained, they erected two picquets, with a cord extended from one to the other, on which they were ſuſpended. The orator of the Cantons taking one in his hand, and preſenting it to the Governor-General, ſpoke thus: "Ononthio, be attentive to my words, all the Iroquois ſpeak by my mouth; my heart entertains no evil ſentiments, all my intentions are upright; we wiſh to forget our ſongs of war, and to reſume the voice of chearfulneſs." He immediately began to ſing, his colleagues marking the meaſure with a *hé*, which they drew from the bottom of their cheſt, and in dancing he moved quickly, and geſticulated in a manner perfectly groteſque. He caſt his eyes towards the ſun, he rubbed his arms as if to prepare himſelf for wreſtling, and then aſſuming a compoſed air, continued his diſcourſe. "This belt is to thank thee, my father, for having given his life to my brother; thou haſt withdrawn him from the teeth of the Algonquin; but ſhouldſt thou have permitted him to depart alone? If his canoe had upſet, who could have aſſiſted him? Had he been drowned, or had he by any other accident periſhed, thou couldſt have had no tidings of peace, and thou wouldſt have attributed to us a fault, which would have been alone imputable to thee." In

1638.

finiſhing

BOOK II. 1638.

finiſhing theſe words, he ſuſpended a collar on the cord, he laid hold of another, and after having fixed it on the arm of Couture, a Frenchman, proceeded: "My father, this collar reſtores to thee thy countryman; I was willing to ſay to him, my nephew, take a canoe, and return to thy country, but I never ſhould have been happy until I had learned certain tidings of his arrival. My brother, whom thou ſenteſt back to us, ſuffered much, and encountered great dangers. He was obliged alone to carry his baggage, paddle his canoe the whole day, draw it up the rapids, and be always on his guard againſt ſurpriſe." The orator accompanied this diſcourſe with expreſſive geſtures; and repreſented the ſituation of a perſon ſometimes conducting a canoe with a pole, an operation which in Canada is called *picquer de fond*, at others rowing with a paddle; ſometimes he appeared out of breath, then reſuming the energy of his powers, he remained for a while in a ſtate of tranquillity.

He ſeemed in carrying his baggage, to wound his foot againſt a ſtone, and he proceeded limping, as if he felt the reality of pain.

The other collars related to peace, of which the concluſion was the ſubject of this embaſſy; each had its particular import, and the orator explained them in the ſame graphical manner, which,

which, in the diſcuſſion of the former, he had diſplayed.

One rendered the paths open and free, another calmed the ſpirit of war, which rendered the navigation of the rivers dangerous; there was one to announce that they ſhould henceforth viſit each other without fear or diſtruſt; and with each different branch of the ſubject a belt was connected—the feaſts which they ſhould mutually give; the alliance between all the nations; the deſire which they always entertained of reſtoring Fathers Jaques and Breſſani, who were priſoners; the kindneſs they intended for them; their acknowledgment for the deliverance of three Iroquois captives; every one of theſe was expreſſed by a collar; and had the orator refrained from ſpeaking, his action would, in a great degree, have developed the ſentiments which he uttered. He ſpoke and acted for three hours without appearing to be heated, and he was the firſt to propoſe a ſpecies of feſtival, which terminated the aſſembly, and which conſiſted in feaſting, ſinging, and dancing.

Two days after, M. de Montmagny gave an anſwer to the propoſitions of the Iroquois; it not being cuſtomary to reply on the ſame day. This aſſembly was equally numerous as the firſt, and the Governor-General made as many preſents

BOOK II. 1638.

ſents as he had received belts of wampum.—Couture was the ſpeaker, and he delivered his diſcourſe without geſticulation, without interruption, and with a gravity which correſponded with the character of the perſonage whoſe interpreter he was. When he had finiſhed, Piſkaret, an Algonquin chief, aroſe, and offered his preſent: "Behold," ſaid he, "a ſtone which I place on the ſepulchre of thoſe who were killed in the war, that no one may attempt to remove their bones, and that every deſire of avenging their death may be laid aſide." This captain was one of the braveſt men in Canada, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by deeds of ſingular valour.

Negabama, chief of the Montagnez, then preſented a deer ſkin, ſaying, "that it was for the purpoſe of making ſhoes for the deputies of the Iroquois, leſt in returning home they ſhould wound their feet againſt the ſtones."

The other nations ſpoke not, becauſe, apparently, neither their chiefs nor orators were preſent. The aſſembly was concluded by three diſcharges of cannon, which, it was told the natives, were to ſpread the news of peace.

The following winter exhibited what never had before been ſeen in Canada ſince the arrival of the French; the Iroquois, the Hurons, and the Algonquins, mixed together in the chace with equal

equal concord, as if they compoſed the ſame nation.

1647. The Chevalier de Montmagny received orders to reſign his government to M. d'Ailebouſt, who commanded for a time at Three Rivers, and to return to France.

The conduct of M. de Poinci, Governor-General of the American iſlands, who attempted to maintain his ſituation in oppoſition to the court, and who refuſed to acknowledge as his ſucceſſor the perſon whom the King had appointed, thereby exhibiting an example of rebellion which other governors were beginning to follow, induced the council of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to adopt the reſolution of appointing governors of colonies for three years only in the ſame place, leſt, by being continued too long a time in office, they might be diſpoſed to conſider the country over which the authority delegated to them had extended, as their own domain.

Inconveniences fail not to accompany general regulations; and it is a misfortune to be placed in circumſtances, which may not be remedied by exceptions, often neceſſary, eſpecially where the public intereſt is concerned.

When the choice has fallen on a man of virtue and talents, he cannot be allowed to remain for too long a period at the head of a new

BOOK II. 1647.

colony. On the contrary, a perſon who, deficient in qualifications, ſolicits an employment of ſuch importance, cannot too ſoon be recalled. Nothing can be more prejudicial to a colony, ſufficient time for the conſolidation and eſtabliſhment of whoſe foundations may not yet have elapſed, and where there exiſt enemies, with whom to contend with advantage, a knowledge of their character, policy, and ſtrength muſt be acquired, than frequently to change the perſons to whom its government and defence are committed. To act with energy, a conformity of conduct is required to purſue projects, which cannot ripen, or be executed, but with time; for it rarely occurs that a new Governor approves the views of his predeceſſor, or imagines not that he can deviſe more efficient meaſures. The ſame contrariety of opinions may continually ſucceed, and by the frequent change of men and of ſchemes, a colony may be condemned to remain in a long ſtate of infancy, and its progreſs in advancement be tedious and circumſcribed.

To M. de Montmagny none of thoſe blemiſhes were imputable; he endeavoured to regulate his conduct by that of his predeceſſor, and confined himſelf to purſue, as far as he was permitted, the plan which Champlain, the founder of the ſettlement, had traced in his memoirs. Had the company of Canada ſeconded his endeavours,

deavours, he would have placed his government on a reſpectable footing; and much credit was due to him for having ſo ably ſupported it with ſuch feeble reſources. His conduct was ever exemplary, and on moſt occaſions he diſplayed tokens of ability, of diſintereſtedneſs, and of a love of piety and religion. He was equally reſpected by the French and by the natives, and he was long quoted by the court, as a model to be imitated by governors of new colonies. 1648.

M. d'Aillebouſt, his ſucceſſor, was a man of much probity and worth. He had been a member of the ſociety for the ſettlement of Montreal, and had commanded in that iſland during the abſence of M. de Maiſonneuve: from thence he was removed to the government of Three Rivers. He was well acquainted with the ſtate of the ſettlement, and neglected nothing in his power towards promoting its welfare. But he was not better ſupported than the former governor, and New France continued under him to be ſubjected to diſadvantages, which could not without injuſtice be placed to his account.

Quebec and the other French ſettlements were then in a ſtate of tranquillity; the ſavages, domiciliated amongſt them, and thoſe who came thither for the purpoſes of traffic, profited by the general calm. The commerce was chiefly confined to furs, and Three Rivers and Tadouſſac

BOOK II. 1648.

were the marts to which the natives principally reſorted. The greater part of the tribes deſcended from the north; during their ſtay they were inſtructed in the truths of Chriſtianity, which they communicated to their neighbours, and generally returned with proſelytes, who were prepared for baptiſm. Sillery every day increaſed in the number of its inhabitants, who diſplayed religious fervour and zeal. But the church of the Hurons, although the moſt numerous of all, and the moſt productive in examples of piety, became to the evangelic labourer a ſource of continual diſquietude and alarm.

The Andaſtoez, a people at that period powerful and warlike, had ſent to the Hurons an offer of aſſiſtance. The opportunity was favourable for endeavouring to regain over the Iroquois that ſuperiority which they formerly poſſeſſed, but they would not embrace it. To place themſelves in a ſituation of procuring an advantageous peace, by aſſuming a portion of warlike ſtrength, was a ſtretch of policy which they could not reach; they therefore ſoon became dupes to the perfidy and artifice of their enemies.

For a time there was no appearance of hoſtility, and nothing more was wanting to replunge the Hurons into their uſual indolence and belief of ſecurity. The Agniers, a tribe of the Iroquois, ſecretly took arms, and appeared in their country,

try, on a quarter where they were leaſt expected. BOOK II.

Father Antoine Daniel took charge alone of this canton, and made his ordinary reſidence in the ſettlement of St. Joſeph, the firſt in which it had been attempted to eſtabliſh the practice of the goſpel. On the fourth of July in the morning, whilſt the miſſionary was celebrating the ſacred myſteries, he heard a confuſed noiſe of perſons who fled on all ſides, crying out, "they are killing us." 1648.

There then happened to be none in the village but old men, women, and children: of this the enemy was informed, made approaches during the night, and attacked at break of day. The whole inhabitants were maſſacred, and laſt of all the miſſionary.

About this time an envoy from New England arrived at Quebec, with powers to propoſe a perpetual alliance between the two colonies, independent of all the ruptures which might happen between the parent ſtates. M. d'Aillebouſt thought the propoſal of mutual advantage, and ſent to Boſton a plenipotentiary to conclude and ſign the treaty; but upon condition that the Engliſh would conſent to act when neceſſary, in junction with the French, in making war againſt the Iroquois.

BOOK II.

It appeared that the laſt condition was not acceptable, and would break off the negotiation. 1648. The Engliſh were themſelves ſufficiently remote from the Iroquois to have nothing to apprehend, and were occupied in their commerce, and in the culture of their lands. This alliance therefore did not take place. The Iroquois having ſuſpended for ſix months every hoſtile enterprize, the Hurons again forgot that they were concerned with an enemy, againſt whom they ought ever to have been upon their guard. In conſequence of which, a thouſand warriors of the former marched into their country, and burnt and deſtroyed 1649. two villages. During this incurſion two French miſſionaries were put to death with the moſt ſhocking cruelties.

After theſe rude checks, the Hurons deſpaired of being any longer able to ſupport themſelves, and in leſs than eight days all the villages in the environs of St. Mary were deſerted. Of moſt of theſe, no traces but the cleanſed ſpots of land remained, the inhabitants on withdrawing having ſet fire to them. Some of the Hurons went among the foreſts, others among the neighbouring people. A plan was formed for re-uniting the reſt of this diſperſed nation, in ſome ſituation ſufficiently remote, that they might not be diſquieted by an enemy whom they were no longer in a condition to reſiſt.

For

For this purpoſe was propoſed the Iſle Manitoualin, which is ſituated in the north part of Lake Huron. This iſland is about forty leagues in length from eaſt to weſt, its breadth is inconſiderable, and its coaſts are frequented by ſhoals of fiſh. The ſoil is in many places good, and as it was not inhabited, it abounded with animals of the chace. The ſcheme of the miſſionaries was not however reliſhed, the Hurons being unable to adopt the reſolution of exiling themſelves ſo far from their country, which they would not abandon, although they wanted the courage to defend it; they therefore had the complaiſance to follow that people to the iſland of St. Joſeph, which is little remote from that part of the continent where they then were ſtationed.

Their removal took place on the fifteenth of May, and in a little time were formed in this iſland an hundred cabins, ſome of eight, others of ten families, without including a great number of families who ſpread themſelves along the neighbouring coaſt for the convenience of fiſhing and of the chace. The ſummer paſſed in tranquillity, but as they did not cultivate the land, and as their fiſhing and chace produced but little, autumn was not far advanced when proviſions began to fail. They were ſoon reduced to the moſt dreadful extremities; they dug up bodies half corrupted to ſatisfy their hunger, mothers

BOOK II. 1649.

devoured their children who died for want of nouriſhment, and children were reduced to feed on the carcaſſes of thoſe to whom they owed their exiſtence.

A famine which produced effects ſo calamitous could not fail to engender malignant diſtempers; and there aroſe a contagious malady, to whoſe deſolating fury great numbers became the prey.

St. John, another village of the Hurons, conſiſting of ſix hundred families, was ſoon after invaded and deſtroyed by the Iroquois, and the miſſionary was put to death.

A conſternation ſo general was ſpread among the nation of the Hurons, that numbers of them deſcended to Quebec to join ſome of their countrymen ſettled in its vicinity. Almoſt all the inhabitants of the two villages of St. Michael and St. John, embraced a reſolution of preſenting themſelves to the Iroquois, and of making an offer to live in their ſociety. They were well received; but the enemy finding that many were wanderers without the power of fixing themſelves in any ſituation, detached a party of young warriors in purſuit of them. Almoſt the whole were taken, and no quarter was given. The dread of the Iroquois had ſuch an effect upon all the other nations, that the borders of the river Outaouais, which were long thickly peopled, became almoſt deſerted,

deſerted, without its ever being known what became of the greater part of the inhabitants. BOOK II. 1650.

Brandy and other fermented liquors began now to be introduced among the ſavages who bordered on Tadouſſac, which has ſince been the cauſe of great diſorder and calamity among the natives, who are much diſpoſed to intoxication, and under its influence give a full ſcope to all the malignant paſſions of the human heart.

The perſons to whom the government of the colony was committed poſſeſſed too much religion and zeal not to oppoſe themſelves to a commerce which tended to foment vice, and they were not even ſuſpected, as were ſome of their ſucceſſors, of wiſhing to increaſe the revenue at the expence of religion and good order.

This evil made in a ſhort time ſuch advances, that the chiefs of the ſavages earneſtly petitioned the governor to order a priſon to be built, in which to confine thoſe who by their irregular conduct diſquieted ſociety. Beſides the Montagnez, who were the native inhabitants of Tadouſſac, there alſo frequented this poſt the Berſianrites, Papinachois, and Oumamioucks, among whom were ſeveral Chriſtians already converted by native proſelytes.

Great care had been taken at Three Rivers to prevent the introduction of this deſtructive article of commerce, and the natives in that

BOOK II.

vicinity were yet ſtrangers to its dangerous effects.

1650. This year, ſo hurtful to New France by the deſtruction of almoſt the whole of the Huron nation, and by other unfavourable events which followed, concluded by the change of the Governor-General. M. de Lauſon, one of the principal aſſociates of the company of Canada, was nominated to ſucceed M. d'Aillebouſt, whoſe three years were expired; but he arrived not at Quebec until the following year. The latter left without regret an office, where he was deſtitute of the means of ſupporting his dignity. The new governor had always held the greateſt ſhare in conducting the affairs of the company. He negotiated in England for the reſtitution of Quebec. His integrity and good intentions were generally known, and he appeared always to have taken a great intereſt in the welfare of Canada.

1651. But he found its ſituation in a worſe ſtate than he conceived, and the colony was rapidly on the decline. The Iroquois, become more preſumptuous by their late victories, began no longer to conſider the forts and entrenchments as barriers to their progreſs; they ſpread themſelves in great bodies over all the French habitations, and no place was ſheltered from their inſults.

1653. The iſland of Montreal ſuffered not leſs from the incurſions of the Iroquois than the other quarters

quarters of the colony; and M. Maiſonneuve was obliged to make a voyage to France to ſolicit the ſuccours, which by letters he could not obtain. He returned with a reinforcement of a hundred men. He alſo brought with him a female of exemplary virtue, who founded the inſtitution of the daughters of the *congregation;* an inſtitution which afterwards became of eminent advantage to the ſettlement. BOOK II. 1653.

About this period the Iroquois completed the deſtruction of the nation of the Eriez, or Cat. The commencement of the war had not been favourable to the former, but they perſevered, and their efforts at length produced ſuch ſucceſs, that were it not for the great lake which ſtill retains the name of the latter nation, not a veſtige of their ever having exiſted would have remained. Apprehenſions were entertained that theſe new advantages would rekindle in the breaſts of the Iroquois their long cheriſhed hatred to the French, but the tribes of the Onnontagués were more than ever diſpoſed to a union with them. To this end they made advances, which were conceived to be ſincere, as their intereſt correſponded with their preſent conduct. Pierre Dablon, a miſſionary amongſt them, accompanied ſome of their convoy to Quebec, that they might endeavour to prevail on M. Lauſon to ſend into their canton a number of Frenchmen. 1655.

He

BOOK II.

1656. He ſet out on the 12th of March with a numerous eſcort, and arrived at Quebec in the beginning of April. The Governor-General entered without heſitation into the views of the Iroquois; and fifty Frenchmen were choſen to form the propoſed eſtabliſhment. The Sieur Dupuys, an officer of the garriſon, was appointed their commandant. Father Francois Le Mercier, who had ſucceeded Pierre Jerôme Lallemant in the charge of ſuperior general of the miſſions, determined himſelf to conduct thoſe of his order who were deſtined to eſtabliſh the firſt Iroquois church, and whoſe names were fathers Fremin, Meſnard, and Dablon: their departure was fixed for the 7th of May; and although the preceding harveſt had been but moderate, they gave to the Sieur Dupuys a quantity of proviſions ſufficient to ſupport his people during a whole year, and alſo ſeed for the lands, of which they were going to take poſſeſſion.

The account of this enterprize having gone abroad, it became a ſubject of ſerious reflection among the Agniers, and awoke in them an ancient jealouſy which they entertained againſt the Onnontagués. A general aſſembly of all the canton was convened to deliberate on this affair, which appeared of the greateſt importance; and it was there concluded that every endeavour muſt be uſed to cruſh the new eſtabliſhment. In conſequence

ſequence of this reſolution, a party of four hundred men was raiſed, with orders to diſperſe, or cut in pieces the company of M. Depuys. Having failed in the attainment of their object, they avenged themſelves by pillaging ſome of his canoes which had fallen behind, and were not ſufficiently guarded.

It was not thought expedient to make this inſult a ground of quarrel, in hopes that they would ſoon be in a ſtate to take certain and ſignal vengeance, if the Agniers did not, of themſelves, make ample reparation. They however made it ſhortly afterwards appear, that nothing was more remote from their inclination. They approached the Iſle of Orleans on a morning before ſun-riſe, fell upon a party of ninety Hurons of every age and ſex, who were labouring in the fields, killed ſix of them, bound the reſt, and embarked them in their canoes. They boldly paſſed before Quebec, and made their priſoners ſing oppoſite to the fort, as if to challenge the Governor to attempt to reſcue them from their hands. They conducted them to their village without having been purſued, and there burnt the chiefs; the reſt were diſtributed among the cantons, and retained in ſevere captivity.

M. de Lauſon was much blamed for having ſuffered calmly ſuch inſolence, and his total inaction whilſt the enemy were, it may be ſaid,

tearing

BOOK II. 1656.

tearing from his arms, allies, whoſe converſion equally intereſted the honour of the colony and of religion, cauſed a ſtain in his memory, which his virtues were unable to efface. There happen ſometimes, in the conduct even of worthy men, miſtakes which are conſidered as leſs pardonable than cowardice itſelf.

The Hurons, by a preſumptuous confidence in ſecurity, of which ſavages cannot diveſt themſelves, ſuffered a ſurprize; to reſcue them from the Iroquois, an army of five or ſix hundred men would have been neceſſary, and the time required for arming and embarking that body would have afforded to theſe barbarians more than ſufficient leiſure to have eluded the efforts of their purſuers.

A young Huron of this unfortunate band, who eſcaped from the village where he was captive, related that many of them were treated with inhumanity unequalled, particularly one of the chiefs, whoſe puniſhment was prolonged for three days. Having been converted to Chriſtianity, he ceaſed not to addreſs himſelf to the Supreme Being, although he experienced that his perſeverance in that devout exerciſe tended to irritate his executioners, and to lengthen the period of his afflictions.

The Iroquois had no ſooner exterminated the Hurons from their country, than they reſolved to treat

treat in the ſame manner all their allies. The Outaouais were among the number, and being unable to reſiſt the conquerors, they were not diſpoſed to wait until they ſhould arrive to burn their villages, and put the inhabitants to death. 1656.

Some had already withdrawn to the bogs of the *Saguinaw*, others to that of *Thunder*, both of which are in lake Huron, many to the iſland of Meinitoualin, and to the iſle of Michilimakinac; but the greateſt part of the nation remained until the extirmination of the Hurons in the borders of the great river, which is known by the name of their nation. They then joined themſelves to the Hurons Tionnontatez, with whom they penetrated to the regions of the ſouth. They entered into an alliance with the Sioux, afterwards embroiled themſelves with them, and made war at the expence of that people, until this period, unwarlike and little known. They then ſeparated into ſeveral bands, and the miſery to which they were reduced proclaimed wherever they directed their courſe the terror of the Iroquois name.

The party who had been ſent to ſettle among the Onnontagués ſuffered much from want of proviſions. They chiefly relied on fiſhing and on the chace. Both failed them; and the French, who are not accuſtomed to long abſtinence, like the ſavages, would have periſhed from hunger, if

BOOK II. 1656.

they had not been ſupplied by the natives. The whole canton ſeemed inclined to embrace the Chriſtian faith, and it became neceſſary to enlarge the chapel more than one half, as it was inſufficient to contain all thoſe who wiſhed to become proſelytes. It was thought by many of the French that a fort ought to have been conſtructed in order to guard againſt the levity and verſatile diſpoſition of this people, and it would have been well to have adopted their counſel. But the funds of Canada were unequal to furniſh the expence, and among the aſſociates of New France no one had leſs credit, or was leſs regarded, than they who had acquired a knowledge of the country.

The Hurons of the iſland of Orleans, who conceived themſelves no longer in ſecurity, took refuge at Quebec, and in a moment of deſpondency for having been abandoned by the French, they had ſecretly ſent a propoſal to the Agniers, to be admitted into their canton, and to become with them one people. They had ſcarcely embraced this meaſure, when they repented. The Agniers, finding that they wiſhed to withdraw their propoſal, took the means of obliging them to fulfil it. They began by letting looſe on them ſeveral detached parties, who maſſacred or carried off all whom they found in the country, and when they imagined that theſe hoſtilities had rendered

rendered them more tractable, they ſent to Quebec thirty deputies to conduct them away. 1656.

Nothing could equal the haughtineſs with which theſe deputies acquitted themſelves of their commiſſion. They addreſſed M. de Lauſon, demanding to be heard in an aſſembly of the French and Hurons, and the Governor-General conſenting to their requeſt, the chief of the deputation ſpoke to the chief of the Hurons as follows:

"It is now time, my brother, that thou ſhouldeſt ſtretch out thy arm to me, that I may be intreated to conduct thee to my country; every time that I came with that intention thou didſt withdraw, and it was to puniſh thy inconſtancy, that I ſtruck with my hatchet a part of thy countrymen. Believe me, give me no longer reaſon to repeat that treatment; ariſe and follow me."

He then preſented two collars, one to aid the Hurons to raiſe themſelves and conſent, the other to aſſure them that the Agniers would live with them as brothers. Turning to the General, he ſaid, "Lift up thy arm, Ononthio, and allow thy children, whom thou holdeſt preſſed to thy boſom, to depart; for if they are guilty of any imprudence, have reaſon to dread, leſt in coming to chaſtiſe them, my blows fall on thy head. Receive this, and open wide thy arms." He preſented

BOOK II. 1656.

ſented a belt. "I know," continued he, "that the Huron is fond of prayers, that he confeſſes and adores the Author of all things, to whom, in his diſtreſſes, he has recourſe for ſuccour. It is my inclination to do the ſame. Allow the miſſionary who quitted me, I know not why, to accompany him to inſtruct me; and, as I have not a ſufficient number of canoes to convey ſo great a body of people, do me the favour to lend me thine." He ſtrengthened theſe demands by preſenting two additional collars, and retired.

It would be difficult to aſſign a reaſon why M. de Lauſon tolerated ſuch inſolence at a time when he had no other enemy on his hand but that of the canton of Agnier. He ſhewed no diſpleaſure at the haughty diſcourſe of the orator, a circumſtance which was remarked by the Hurons, and cauſed them much embarraſſment. From experience of the paſt, and the general conduct of the Iroquois, they had every evil to apprehend, and they conceived, whatever might be the part they ſhould act, inevitable ruin muſt overtake them. In this perplexity of their affairs they ſeparated; ſome declaring that they would not quit the French, others that they were reſolved to give themſelves up to the Onnontagués, with whom they had already made a kind of engagement. The family of the Beas alone

alone kept the promiſe which they had made to the Agniers. BOOK II. 1656.

Theſe reſolutions being taken, the council reaſſembled; and although the Governor had taken no meaſures to make his character reſpected, he appeared there in perſon. Father le Moyne, who acted as his interpreter, ſpoke firſt, and ſaid, "Ononthio is attached to the Hurons, they are his children; but he holds them not in tutelage, they are of age to act for themſelves; he opens his arms, he leaves them at full liberty to go where they will. For me, I will follow them wherever they go; if they accompany thee, Agnier, I will inſtruct thee alſo to pray, and adore the Author of all things, but I dare not hope that thou wilt attend to me. I know thee, and I am not ignorant of thy indocility, but I therefore will conſole myſelf with the Hurons. With reſpect to the canoes which you require, you ſee that we have ſcarcely enough for ourſelves; make others if you have not a ſufficient number."

The chief of the Hurons of the tribe of the Bear then expreſſed himſelf thus: "My brother, I am at thy diſpoſal, I place myſelf with cloſed eyes in thy canoe, prepared for every event, even that of death; but I would wiſh only my own family to attend me. I will ſuffer no others to embark with me. If, hereafter, the reſt of

BOOK II.

1656. my nation will come to join me, I will not oppoſe their reſolution; but I ſhall be well pleaſed that they ſhould be firſt informed in what manner thou wilt treat me."

He preſented three collars to engage the Agnier to uſe him well, to neglect nothing to comfort him for the ſacrifice he made, and to facilitate the voyage. The deputies accepted the collars and ſeemed well ſatisfied. They then began to conſtruct canoes, and when they were finiſhed, they embarked with the Hurons and Father le Moyne.

1657. The good underſtanding between the French and the Upper Iroquois did not thus ſeem to have received any interruption from what took place at Quebec, on the ſubject of the Hurons, but to render it laſting, it was neceſſary that their deputies ſhould have been impreſſed with an idea of the ſtrength of the ſettlement, when unhappily they became witneſſes of its feeble condition. This became every day more apparent from the inſenſibility with which the French ſeemed to ſuffer the inſults of the Agniers.

A band of the Onneyouths having gone on a hunting expedition to the iſland of Montreal, ſurpriſed three Frenchmen whom they killed, and carried off their ſcalps to their own village. M. d'Aillebourt, who commanded at Quebec, becauſe

beauſe M. de Lauſon had returned to France without awaiting the arrival of a ſucceſſor, demanded juſtice for this outrage; and, to compel the nation to a compliance, he gave orders to arreſt whatever ſhould be found belonging to the Iroquois in the colony. It was obeyed, and the firſt movement which the news of this tranſaction cauſed among the cantons was that of embracing the moſt violent reſolutions. 1657.

In the month of February numerous bodies of the Agniers, of the Onneyouths, and of the Onnontagués, were ſeen equipped for war. To have occaſioned a ſtrong ſuſpicion of their intentions in the breaſt of M. Dupuys, much leſs preparation would have been neceſſary. He found himſelf much embarraſſed, and he ſaw little chance of eſcaping. To fortify himſelf, and to ſtand a ſiege would be only to prolong a fate, which finally he could not avoid, for he had no ſuccour to hope for from Quebec; and if he ever could entertain that hope, the time neceſſary for its arrival would render it vain and ineffectual. He muſt either ſooner or later have ſurrendered, have periſhed in reſiſting, or have died of hunger and want. 1658.

To make his eſcape, it was neceſſary the party ſhould firſt conſtruct canoes, for they had not taken the precaution to preſerve a certain number for that purpoſe, in caſe they ſhould have

BOOK II. 1658.

been reduced to adopt it. To work at the canoes openly would be to publiſh his intention, and thereby to render it impracticable. He diſpatched a perſon to M. d'Ailleboust to acquaint him of the conſpiracy, and then gave orders for conſtructing with all poſſible diligence, ſmall light batteaux; and to conceal from the Iroquois a knowledge of what was carrying on, he employed the workmen in the garret of the houſe of the Jeſuits, which was more detached, and ſomewhat larger than the others.

This work being completed, he gave notice to his people to hold themſelves in readineſs to depart on the day which he ſhould point out, and to collect their proviſions for the journey, in ſuch a manner as not to give any ſuſpicion to the Iroquois. It only remained to take ſuch ſecret meaſures to embark, that the ſavages might be ignorant of the retreat of the French, until they ſhould be ſo far advanced as not to be in danger of purſuit, and they fortunately attained that point by a ſingular ſtratagem.

A young Frenchman had been adopted by one of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants of Onnontagué; that kind of adoption, which afterwards became more frequent, has all the advantages of thoſe which were practiſed among the Romans, even with reſpect to inheritance, which among ſavages can be but little: whence

it often happened that the French received considerable advantage from these adopted persons, particularly in arranging treaties of peace. BOOK II. 1658.

The young man went to his father by adoption, and told him that he had dreamt of one of those festivals where all is eaten that is prepared; he conjured him to make an entertainment of this kind for all the village, informing him, that if any part of the victuals was left after the feast, he was strongly persuaded he should die. The savage replied that it would occasion him much regret if he should die, that he would himself order the repast, that he would take great care that all should be invited, and that assuredly nothing should be left unconsumed. On this the young man assigned for the feast the 19th of March, which was the day fixed for the departure of the French. All the provisions which could be spared were employed for this purpose, and all the savages were invited.

The repast began on the evening, and, to give to the French an opportunity of putting their batteaux in the water, and of loading them, without the noise being heard in the village, the tambours and trumpets discontinued not to sound on every side of the cabin where the feast was held. Every thing being in readiness for embarkation, the young man, on a signal being given, said to his father by adoption, that he had

BOOK II. 1658.

pity on his gueſts, the greater part of whom had already demanded quarter: that they might ſuſpend the fatigues of eating and repoſe themſelves, and that he would procure them an agreeable ſleep. He began to play on the guitar, and in leſs than a quarter of an hour not a ſingle ſavage was awake. He then went to join the little fleet, which in a moment loſt ſight of the village.

In fifteen days M. Dupuy ſaw his party arrived in ſafety at Montreal. The gratification which he experienced at ſeeing himſelf delivered from ſo great a danger, was however diminiſhed by the reflection that his precipitate flight was not creditable to his country, and the regret that for want of moderate ſuccours he had not been placed in a ſituation to ſupport an eſtabliſhment of ſuch importance, and to give law to a people, who only derived their power from the weakneſs of the French, and the means they thereby poſſeſſed of repeating their inſults.

He found the whole iſland of Montreal in a ſtate of great alarm. On every hand were ſeen parties of the Iroquois, who, without declaring themſelves open enemies, occaſioned ſuch diſorders, that no perſon dared to appear in the country. Towards the end of May, Father le Moyne arrived at that place, conducted by the Agniers, who had given him their promiſe to

place him ſafe in a French ſettlement, and which they ſcrupulouſly obſerved. After this, the nation threw off the maſk, and war became more vigorous than it yet had been.

On the 11th of July the Viſcount d'Argenſon landed at Quebec, and was received in quality of Governor-General. He was ſurpriſed next morning to hear the cry "*to arms*," and was ſoon after informed that ſome Algonquins had been maſſacred by the Iroquois under the cannon of the fort. Two hundred men, compoſed of French and ſavages, were inſtantly detached in purſuit of theſe barbarians, but could not overtake them.

Not long afterwards the Agniers approached Three Rivers with a deſign to ſurpriſe that poſt; and with a view of ſucceeding they ſent eight men, who, under a pretence of holding a conference, had orders to obſerve the ſtate of the garriſon; but M. de la Potherie who commanded there confined ſome of them in priſon, and ſent the reſt to the General at Quebec. This vigorous meaſure produced all the ſucceſs which could be expected from it, and procured ſome repoſe to the colony. The miſſionaries thereby took an opportunity of re-commencing their apoſtolic labours in the north, and diſcovered ſeveral routs which led to Hudſon's Bay.

BOOK II.

1659.

Such was the ſituation of New France when on the 16th of June François de Laval, Abbé de Montigny, titular biſhop of Petrée, and provided by the Sovereign Pontiff with a brief of apoſtolic vicar, diſembarked at Quebec.

The Jeſuits had long been perſuaded that the preſence of a ſuperior eccleſiaſtic, inveſted with a character of command, was become neceſſary in the colony, to remedy certain diſorders which began to be introduced, and had demanded of the court that a biſhop might be ſent out. The Queen Mother, Ann of Auſtria, to whom they addreſſed themſelves during her regency, was of opinion that one of the oldeſt miſſionaries ſhould be choſen to fill this ſituation, and were inclined to appoint Father Paul le Jeune, who had governed the miſſion during ſeveral years, and was then at Paris, occupied in his ſpiritual functions, and in high eſteem for his ſanctity and prudence; but the Jeſuits repreſented that their inſtitution did not permit them to accept of this dignity, and propoſed to her Majeſty the Abbé de Montigny, who was accordingly appointed.

Father Jerome Lallemant, who had not viſited America ſince he went to France to repreſent to the company of Canada the wants of that country, governed at that period the college of Lafleche; the new prelate requeſted of his general, that

that he might again be ſent out, as being a man who was neceſſary for him, and this miſſionary was well ſatisfied to conſecrate the reſt of his days to the converſion of ſavages, under the direction of a biſhop who was worthy of having been a member of the primitive church. Some eccleſiaſtics had arrived with M. de Petrée, and others joined him a few years afterwards. As they arrived, they were put in poſſeſſion of curacies, with which the Jeſuits had hitherto been charged, becauſe they were the only prieſts in New France. The new curés then ſerved the pariſhes only by commiſſion. They were likewiſe for a conſiderable time moveable at the will of the biſhop, and ſometimes of the ſuperiors of the ſeminary at Quebec, who themſelves were named by the directors of foreign miſſions at Paris. Circumſtances were in this reſpect ſomewhat changed, ſince the court had ordered that the curés ſhould be fixed in Canada, as throughout the whole kingdom. The iſland of Montreal, however, with the pariſhes dependent on it, remained on the ſame footing, under the direction of the ſeminary of St. Sulpicius. 1659.

Two years had elapſed ſince this ſeminary had acquired all the rights of the firſt proprietors of the iſland. Some years before this period the Abbé de Quelus had come to Quebec, inveſted with the proviſion of Great Vicar of the archbiſhopric

BOOK II. 1659.

biſhopric of Rouen; but as the juriſdiction of that prelate over New France was not founded on any title, and as the Archbiſhops of Nantes and Rochelle poſſeſſed equal pretenſions with him, the Abbé was not acknowledged in the quality of Grand Vicar, and therefore returned to France. He afterwards returned with the deputies of the ſeminary of St. Sulpicius, to take poſſeſſion of the iſland of Montreal, and to found a ſeminary there, to which no oppoſition was made, all the colony being ſatisfied to ſee a body, reſpectable, powerful, and fruitful in men of talents, take the charge of clearing and peopling an iſland, whoſe firſt poſſeſſors had not advanced the eſtabliſhment ſo much as might then have been expected.

The order of St. Sulpicius was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of this rich domaine, than they thought of procuring an hoſpital, and they had the good fortune to engage many pious perſons in this project. Madame de Boüillon contributed ſixty thouſand livres, Monſ. de la Douerſierre, Lieutenant-General of the Preſidial de la Fléche, conſecrated to it a part of his fortune, and it was by his advice that they made choice of, to ſerve this hoſpital, the daughters of the Hôtel Dieu of that place. Mademoiſelle Manſe, who has already been mentioned, received the hoſpitallers on their arrival at Montreal, and during her life took charge

charge of the affairs of their houſe, in which ſhe was ſeconded by M. Maiſonneuve, who conſented to continue in the government of this little colony after it had changed maſters. BOOK II. 1659.

A town began by degrees to be formed, and an uſeful and laudable eſtabliſhment, which at that time took place, tended to increaſe its proſperity. The inſtitution of the *daughters of the congregation* was founded by Marguerite Bourgeois, who had accompanied M. Maiſonneuve to Montreal. It appeared that after ſome years had elapſed, the ſiſters of this religious houſe were inclined to become nuns, but they were afterwards prohibited from ſhutting themſelves up, and from taking vows.

The Urſulines of Quebec contributed much on their part to give to perſons of their ſex a ſuitable education, but beyond the precincts of the town there were few girls who had the means of frequenting their ſchools, and the poverty of the country did not permit them to have a great many pupils. It was intended, after their ſettlement in New France, that they ſhould charge themſelves with the education of ſavage girls, but the execution anſwered not the expectations which had been formed, and there were many reaſons for abandoning this project.

No

BOOK II.

1660.

No reinforcements or ſupplies arrived from France, and the colony was with difficulty able to ſupport itſelf. No perſon could adventure to go any diſtance from the forts without an eſcort, and in many places there appeared no preparations for harveſt, although the ſeaſon was faſt approaching. Many were of opinion that the colony muſt at length be abandoned, and ſome began to take meaſures for repaſſing the ſea. Seven hundred Iroquois, who had defeated a conſiderable party of French and ſavages, held Quebec in a ſtate of blockade. The Urſulines and the hoſpitallers were obliged in the night to abandon their monaſteries, where they were not thought to be in ſecurity, and towards the end of autumn, when it was ſuppoſed the barbarians had returned to their country, it was learnt that they ſtill kept in the environs of the ſettlement; a circumſtance which occaſioned much alarm. An eccleſiaſtic of the ſeminary of Montreal, named M. le Mâitre, was killed in returning from the country, where he had been to perform maſs. M. de Lauſon, Sénéſchal of New France, and ſon of the preceding Governor, having gone to the iſland of Orleans to aſſiſt his brother-in-law, who was attacked in his houſe, fell into an ambuſcade. The Iroquois, who knew him, and wiſhed to get poſſeſſion of a priſoner of his conſequence,

sequence, did not wish to kill him, but finding that in defending himself he shot many of their people, they fired on him, and he fell dead before any of them ventured to approach him. 1660.

Many other persons of consideration, and a great number of inhabitants and savages, shared the same fate. Thirty Attikamegues, among whom there were some Frenchmen, were attacked by eighty Iroquois, and defended themselves with valour, which might have saved them had they fought with greater order; even the women combated to the last, and not one would surrender. From Montreal to Tadoussac were every where to be seen fatal impressions of the passage of this ferocious and sanguinary enemy. To this affliction, a scourge no less severe was then added; a contagious malady swept away a great number of the inhabitants. 1661.

By some prisoners who had made their escape from the Iroquois' villages, it was learnt that there were at Onnontagué twenty whose lives had been spared by the enemy, and who there enjoyed an ample state of liberty; that even in the same canton a cabin had been converted into a chapel, where a great number of Christians, French, Hurons, Iroquois, and Algonquins assembled to pray. That the matrons who form the principal body of the state, had no part in

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the conſpiracy which obliged M. Dupuys to withdraw; that during ſeven days they and their children ceaſed not to deplore the departure of the miſſionaries; and that in the cantons of Goyogouin and Onneyouth, there were Chriſtians who were inviolably attached to the faith.

The enemy ſoon after almoſt entirely diſappeared, and in the month of July were ſeen at Montreal two canoes with a white flag. They were allowed to approach, and the Iroquois were ſeen diſembarking with equal confidence as if they had been the moſt faithful allies. They were deputies of the cantons of Onnontagué and of Goyogouin, one of whom was one of the firſt chiefs of the latter, and well diſpoſed towards the French. They brought with them four Frenchmen, whom they propoſed to exchange for eight Goyogouins, priſoners at Montreal, and they promiſed to reſtore the other Frenchmen, who were detained in their country, if all the members of the two cantons who had been captured by the French were delivered up to them.

They produced to M. Maiſonneuve a letter ſigned by all the French captives in the two cantons, purporting that they were well treated, and that the ſavages were much diſpoſed to peace; but that if the deputies were not atended

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to all Frenchmen in their country would be, without mercy, committed to the flames on their return.

The Viſcount d'Argenſon was at firſt little diſpoſed to enter on negociation; but conſidering that, in the preſent ſtate of the colony, even a diſadvantageous peace, provided defenſive meaſures were taken, was yet better than a ſtate of warfare, which he was not in a condition to maintain, he changed his reſolution; and Father le Moyne chearfully undertook to accompany the deputies to their country.

In the mean time the Baron d'Avaugour arrived from France to relieve the Governor, whoſe ill ſtate of health, the ſlender ſupplies which he received from the company, and ſome private diſcontents, which perſons not well diſpoſed ceaſed not to occaſion him, induced him to apply for a recal before the expiration of the period of his government.

The deſtitute ſituation of the colony excited in the new Governor ſentiments of diſappointment and ſurprize. He viſited the different poſts, was afterwards charmed with the appearance of the country, and ſaid that the government of France were not acquainted with its value. He could not conceive how his predeceſſor had been able to retain it with a force ſo inferior as that he had poſſeſſed, and declared that he would requeſt

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1661. requeſt to be recalled unleſs troops and ſupplies were regularly ſent him. This General was a man of reſolution and great integrity, but he entertained too high an eſtimation of his ſituation and talents, and knew not how to unbend. He had been employed in Hungary, where he had much diſtinguiſhed himſelf, but he had in Canada leſs occaſion to exerciſe his good qualities than to diſplay his defects, and he was made to experience much mortification during the ſhort period that he governed the colony.

1662. M. de Petrée having gone to France, for reaſons which will hereafter appear, propoſed to the council of the King the erection of a ſeminary at Quebec, and letters patent were iſſued in the following year in favour of the members of the ſeminary for foreign miſſions. As this inſtitution, according to the ſyſtem at that time prevalent, was bound to ſupply paſtors for the whole colony, the prelate obtained an order, that the tithes ſhould be paid to the directors of the new ſeminary, and procured the taxes to be fixed at a thirteenth part. It was found that this proportion was too oppreſſive for the coloniſts, who were poor, and ſeveral repreſentations were made on their part.

The Onnontagués overran a great part of the colony, and attacked in open day many of the inhabitants of the iſland of Montreal, who were at

at work in the country. The town major went out with twenty-ſix men well armed, to facilitate their retreat, but having gone through the woods to conceal his march from the enemy, he found himſelf ſurrounded. He fought bravely for a whole day, and was well ſupported by his men, until, overpowered by numbers, they all periſhed. 1662.

By the laſt veſſels which ſailed from Quebec for Europe, the General, and every perſon in place in the country, wrote in the ſtrongeſt terms to the King, beſeeching his majeſty to take under his protection a colony which was abſolutely in a ſtate of deſolation, and reduced to the laſt extremity. The King was much ſurprized on learning that ſo fine a country had ſo greatly ſuffered from neglect. He forthwith nominated M. de Monts, as his commiſſioner, to viſit Canada, and there give intimation of his orders; likewiſe commanding that four hundred of his troops ſhould be immediately embarked to reinforce the garriſons and poſts moſt expoſed. Their arrival at Quebec occaſioned great ſatisfaction, and it was hoped that, in the following year, the colony would be raiſed to greater conſequence than it had yet acquired.

Until then, the Governor-General had been ſtrict in enforcing obedience to the orders which had been iſſued reſpecting the ſale of ſpirits to

BOOK II. 1662.

the ſavages, and the Baron d'Avangour had decreed ſevere penalties againſt thoſe who ſhould infringe his ordinances on this important point. It happened that a woman of Quebec was convicted of this practice, and afterwards confined in priſon. One of the Jeſuits, at the inſtance of her relations, thought that he might preſume to intercede with the Governor on her behalf. He was anſwered with warmth, that ſince the traffic of ſpirits was not deemed by eccleſiaſtics a fault puniſhable in a woman, no perſon ſhould thenceforth be puniſhed for that tranſgreſſion againſt authority. The General made it a point of honour never to retract the haſty expreſſion that had eſcaped him.

Of this circumſtance the people ſoon became acquainted, and the diſorder was carried to the utmoſt extremity. They began with ſtrong invective againſt the confeſſors, who, with a firmneſs truly ſacerdotal, wiſhed to oppoſe a barrier to the torrent. The Biſhop of Petrée was not ſpared, who thought the evil ſufficiently great to employ the cenſures of the church in endeavouring to effect its cure. Seeing however his zeal inefficacious, and his authority contemned, he embraced the reſolution of carrying his complaint to the foot of the throne, and went over to France. He was heard, and obtained from the King ſuch orders as he judged neceſſary to put a

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ſtop to this ſhameful commerce, which created ſuch evils in his ſpiritual domain. BOOK II.

On the 5th of February, about half an hour paſt four in the evening, a great noiſe was heard, nearly at the ſame time, throughout the whole extent of Canada. That noiſe ſeems to have been the effect of a ſudden vibration of the air agitated in all directions. It appeared as if the houſes were on fire, and the inhabitants, in order to avoid its effects, immediately ran out of doors. But their aſtoniſhment was increaſed when they ſaw the buildings ſhaken with the greateſt violence, and the roofs diſpoſed to fall ſometimes on one ſide, ſometimes on the other. The doors opened of themſelves, and ſhut again with a great craſh. All the bells were ſounding, although no perſon touched them. The palliſades of the fences ſeemed to bound out of their places; the walls were rent; the planks of the floor ſeparated, and again ſprung together. The dogs anſwered theſe previous tokens of a general diſorder of nature, by lamentable howlings. The other animals ſent forth the moſt terrific groans and cries, and, by a natural inſtinct, extended their legs to prevent them from falling. The ſurface of the earth was moved like an agitated ſea. The trees were thrown againſt each other, and many, torn up by the roots, were toſſed to a conſiderable diſtance. 1663.

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1663.

Sounds of every deſcription were then heard; at one time like the fury of a ſea which had overflowed its barriers, at another like a multitude of carriages rolling over a pavement, and again like mountains of rock or marble opening their bowels, and breaking into pieces with a tremendous roar. Thick clouds of duſt which at the ſame time aroſe, were taken for ſmoke, and for the ſymptoms of an univerſal conflagration.

The conſternation became ſo general, that not only men, but the animals appeared as if ſtruck with thunder; they ran in every quarter without a knowledge of their courſe, and wherever they went they encountered the danger they wiſhed to avoid. The cries of children, the lamentations of women, the alternate ſucceſſions of fire and darkneſs in the atmoſphere, all combined to aggravate the evils of a dire calamity which ſubverts every thing by the excruciating tortures of the imagination, diſtreſſed and confounded, and loſing in the contemplation of this general confuſion the means of ſelf-preſervation.

The ice which covered the St. Lawrence, and the other rivers, broke into pieces which craſhed againſt each other; large bodies of ice were thrown up into the air, and from the place which they had quitted a quantity of ſand, and ſlime, and water ſpouted up. The ſources of ſeveral ſprings and little rivers became dry; the waters of

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of others were impregnated with ſulphur. At ſome times the waters appeared red, at others of a yelloviſh caſt; thoſe of the St. Lawrence became white from Quebec to Tadouſſac, a ſpace of thirty leagues: the quantity of matter neceſſary to impregnate ſo vaſt a body of waters muſt have been prodigious. In the mean time the atmoſphere continued to exhibit the moſt awful phenomena; an inceſſant ruſhing noiſe was heard, and the fires aſſumed every ſpecies of form. The moſt plaintive voices augmented the general terror and alarm. Porpuſſes and ſea-cows were heard howling in the water at Three Rivers, where none of theſe fiſhes had ever before been found; and the noiſe which they ſent forth reſembled not that of any known animal.

Over the whole extent of three hundred leagues from eaſt to weſt, and one hundred and fifty from ſouth to north, the earth, the rivers, and coaſts of the ocean experienced for a conſiderable time, although at intervals, the moſt dreadful agitation.

The firſt ſhock continued without intermiſſion for half an hour: about eight o'clock in the evening there came a ſecond, no leſs violent than the firſt, and in the ſpace of half an hour were two others. During the night were reckoned thirty ſhocks.

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New England and New Holland were not more exempted from its effects than the country of New France, and over this tract of land and rivers, when the violence of the ſhocks had abated, an intermitting movement was felt every where at the ſame period.

It appears wonderful, that in ſo extraordinary a derangement of nature, which laſted for ſix months, no human inhabitant ſhould have periſhed, and no contagion ſhould have ſucceeded: the country ſoon afterwards reſumed its wonted form and tranquillity. Although in ſome memoirs it is ſtated, that the Great River, with reſpect to its banks, and ſome parts of its courſe, underwent remarkable changes, that new iſlands were formed, and others conſiderably enlarged; of this circumſtance there does not, however, appear to have exiſted a probability. The river bears no marks of having ſuffered thereby any interruption or change in its courſe, from lake Ontario to Tadouſſac. The rapids of St. Louis at Montreal, and the ſeveral iſlands, remain in the ſame ſtate as when Jacques Cartier firſt viſited them. It is obſerved elſewhere in this work, that there are evident tokens of the St. Lawrence having at ſome period ſeparated its waters at Cape Rouge, flowed to the eaſtward through the level country, and re-united at the foot of the promontory of Quebec, inſulating the

the lofty ground from Cape Rouge to that place; but the alteration of its ceaſing to flow through that channel had probably taken effect, long before America had been viſited by Europeans. It is alſo remarked in another part of this work, that at St. Paul's Bay, Mal Bay, and Camomaſka, which are ſubject to partial earthquakes, there are undoubted proofs of the once powerful operation of ſuch natural convulſions.

The Biſhop of Petrée, and M. de Meſy, whom the King had ſent to relieve the Baron d'Avangour, arrived with a body of troops at Quebec. Theſe gentlemen were accompanied by the Sieur Gaudais, whom his majeſty had nominated commiſſioner, to take poſſeſſion in his name of all New France, of which the company of Canada had remitted to him the domain on the 14th of February in this year. There alſo arrived a hundred families, who came to people the country, and ſeveral military and law officers.

The commiſſioner began his functions by receiving from all the inhabitants the oath of allegiance, by regulating the police, and by framing ſeveral ordinances reſpecting the mode of adminiſtering juſtice.

Until that period there had not been in Canada any court of law or equity; the Governors-General decided on cauſes of diſpute according

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to their pleaſure. Their ſentences were never appealed from; but they generally gave deciſions after the mode of arbitration had been ineffectually reſorted to, and theſe were almoſt ever dictated by good ſenſe, and according to the precepts of natural law. The Creoles of Canada, although far the greater part of the Norman race, had by no means a turn for litigation, and would often rather give up a point than conſume their time in pleading. There almoſt appeared to be a community of property in the province; at leaſt it was long unneceſſary to employ a lock and key, and this mutual confidence was not abuſed. It is a reflection no leſs true than humiliating, that from the precaution which a legiſlator adopts for the prevention of diſhoneſty, and the advancement of equity, the former ſhould not unfrequently receive its introduction, and the latter ſhould date the commencement of its decline.

There had exiſted, it is true, for upwards of twenty years, the office of Grand Sénechal of New France, and at Three Rivers there was a ſpecies of juriſdiction, from which an appeal could be made to the tribunal of theſe magiſtrates of the ſword; but it appeared that he was ſubordinate in his functions to the Governor-General, who always retained the privilege of rendering juſtice themſelves, when recourſe was had to them,

them, which frequently happened. In affairs of importance a ſpecies of council was aſſembled, compoſed of the Grand Sénechal of the ſuperior of the Jeſuits, who, before the arrival of the biſhops, was the ſole ſuperior eccleſiaſtic of the country, and of ſome of the principal inhabitants, to whom was given the quality of counſellors.

This council was, however, by no means permanent: the Governor-General eſtabliſhed it in virtue of the power which he derived from the King, and changed it whenever he thought fit. It was not then until this year, after the King had taken Canada into his power, that this colony had a permanent council eſtabliſhed by the prince. The edict of creation is dated in the month of March, and imported that the council ſhould be compoſed of M. de Meſy, Governor-General; of M. de Laval, Biſhop of Petrée, apoſtolic Vicar of New France; of M. Robert, intendant; of four counſellors who ſhould be named by theſe three gentlemen, and who could be continued in office, or changed according to their pleaſure; of a procureur-general, and of a chief clerk.

M. Robert, counſellor of ſtate, had been nominated intendant of juſtice, police, finance, and marine for New France, and his inſtructions were dated the 21ſt of March, but he did not make the voyage to Canada; and M. Talon, who arrived

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1663. rived there two years afterwards, was the firſt who exerciſed theſe functions. M. Ducheneau who ſucceeded him three years afterwards, brought an order of the King, in virtue of which the intendant filled the office of firſt preſident of the council, reſigning however to the Governor the higheſt ſeat, and the ſecond to the Biſhop. Two counſellors were at the ſame time added to the number, and the whole members of the council had commiſſions from the court.

It was not intended that the Sieur Gaudais, who had been ſent out as King's commiſſioner, ſhould remain in the colony: he had an expreſs order to return to France by the ſame veſſel which had brought him to Quebec, that he might communicate to his ſovereign an exact account of the country; inform him of the general character of the clergy, of the effect produced by the eſtabliſhment of the council, of the grounds of complaint againſt the Baron d'Avangour, and of the reception that was given to M. de Meſy. He acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion to the ſatisfaction of all parties. The Baron d'Avangour, to whom could be imputed no fault but that of too rigid an adherence to juſtice, and an obſtinate devotion to his prejudices, appeared much pleaſed with his recal, which he had himſelf requeſted. He ſoon after, with the permiſſion of the King his maſter, entered into the ſervice of the

the Emperor, and was the following year killed in defending againſt the Turks the fort of Serin on the frontiers of Croatia. 1663.

There happened in the vicinity of the Iroquois country an event which entirely changed the ſituation of the inhabitants, and to which may in part be attributed the misfortunes and inconveniences which the Canadians for a long time ſuffered from the inſolence of that nation. 1664.

Henry Hudſon, an Engliſhman, but a captain in the Dutch ſervice, had diſcovered, about half a century before, the river Manhatte. He conceived he had a ſole right to the diſcovery he had made, and accordingly ſold it to the States-General, who ſoon after began to clear and to people the country. Several years had elapſed from that period, when Samuel Argall, having been appointed governor of Virginia, claimed the country diſcovered by Hudſon, alleging that this navigator had no right to ſell, nor the States General to purchaſe it, without the expreſs conſent of the King of Great Britain, of whom the former was a ſubject.

He ſent therefore troops and inhabitants to Manhatte, and the Dutch, taken by ſurprize, could not prevent the Engliſh from poſſeſſing themſelves of New Belgium; but they ſupported themſelves in the remaining ſettlements of it, and continued ſtill maſters of the capital which was called

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called New Amſterdam, of the city of Orange, and of two other forts. The Swedes were at that time alſo eſtabliſhed in the ſouthern part neareſt to Virginia. It ſhould ſeem that until the preſent period theſe three nations had lived on amicable terms. Charles the ſecond ſent out four commiſſioners with troops, who made themſelves maſters of the capital, which they called New York, and of the Manhatte, to which was given the name of Hudſon's River; of Orange, which they named Albany; of the ſettlement of Araſapha, and of the fort of Lavarre.

Not long after this an accommodation took place between the Engliſh and Dutch, many of whom conſented to acknowledge the king of England for their ſovereign, and on this condition they were guaranteed in the poſſeſſion of their property. His Britannic Majeſty, to recompence the States-General for their loſs, ceded to them the ſettlement of Surinam in the vicinity of Guiana; ſome of the Swedes alſo continued to retain their property.

Since this period New Belgium has aſſumed the appellation of New York, and the French have had cauſe to experience that the Iroquois, by a change of neighbours, were become leſs tractable, having ſoon had the policy to diſcover, that the natural jealouſy of the two European nations, between whom they were now ſituated, would

would always enable them to derive from the one ſufficient aid to guard them againſt being oppreſſed, or finally ſubverted by the other. BOOK II. 1664.

Leiſure had not yet been afforded to the government of Canada to pay attention to what was paſſing at New York. The ſupplies which the King had already ſent to New France, and the meaſures that were taken for the diſtribution and ſupport of the reinforcement, gave ſome reaſon to hope that the colony might ſoon be able to give law to the Iroquois.

Unhappily the unanimity which was ſuppoſed to have taken place among thoſe to whom the chief guidance of affairs was committed, proved to be but of ſhort duration; and at a time when it was leaſt expected, the new Governor embroiled himſelf in a difference with the Biſhop of Petrée, and with all the principal perſons concerned in the government.

It has already been ſtated that the prelate of Canada had gone to France, for reaſons which ſhould afterwards appear; theſe were to prefer to his ſovereign, charges againſt the conduct of the Baron d'Avangour, by which the recal of the latter was not only occaſioned, but the King carried his condeſcenſion toward the biſhop ſo far as to leave to him the choice of the new Governor. M. de Meſy, major of the citadel of Caën, being well known to M. de Petrée, and a

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perſon who made great profeſſion of piety, was, upon being propoſed to the King, immediately inveſted with the office. But ſcarcely had he entered on the exerciſe of the functions of Governor, when he diſcloſed his character to be, in reality, of a different caſt. He either had the weakneſs to be dictated to by a party, or had of himſelf aſſumed a degree of haughtineſs and ill humour towards the biſhop and all his friends.

The change became ſo rapid, and the flame of diviſion had mounted to ſuch a height, that it became neceſſary to apply an immediate remedy. It was not doubted by the council of the King that M. de Meſy was in fault, eſpecially when they found at the head of his accuſers, the principal members of the council in Canada, M. de Villeray and Bourdon, Procureurs-General, both of acknowledged probity and prudence, and whom the new Governor had obliged to embark for France without any ſhadow of juſtice. Attention was nevertheleſs paid to the repreſentations he made to the miniſter in his defence; and although they did not juſtify his meaſures, they created ſuſpicions, of which ſeveral perſons could with difficulty afterwards clear themſelves.

He chiefly objected to the great credit which the Jeſuits had in the colony; as the court had not until then interfered with the affairs of New France, which it had in a great meaſure reſigned

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to the company of Canada, and as theſe miſſionaries, from their functions, enjoyed a great ſhare in all affairs relating to the ſavages, the complaints of the Governor were not altogether unfounded. It was concluded that perſons who had acquired ſo great an influence, would embrace every means of preſerving it, which might be the cauſe of frequent abuſes. 1664.

On the other hand, the council were fully perſuaded that the colony was much indebted to the Jeſuits, for having been the means of ſupporting it through many difficult and perilous ſituations; they were conſidered as a ſociety extremely uſeful on account of the natives of the country, who were acquainted with them only, and of whoſe diſpoſition and purpoſes the government could only be informed through their means. M. de Meſy, in replying to the complaints alleged againſt him, could not juſtify the motives of his conduct, and M. Colbert conceived it neceſſary to recal him, in order, if he could prove that there was too great an aſſumption of power on the part of the eccleſiaſtics and miſſionaries, proper limits might be preſcribed to that political evil.

BOOK III.

The Aſſociates ſurrender their Charter to the Sovereign.—Canada placed under the Direction of the Company of the Weſt Indies.—Arrival of Troops and Supplies.—Conſtruction of Forts on the River Sorel.—Expedition of M. de Tracy.—Regulation reſpecting Tithes.—Church of Quebec erected into a Biſhopric.—Commencement of the Miſſion of Loretto.— Iroquois Chriſtians ſettle near Montreal.—Character of M. de Courcelles.—Of the Count de Frontenac.—Robert Cavelier Sieur de la Sale.

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IT has already been ſhewn to what a ſtate of feebleneſs and languor the company of Canada had ſuffered the colony to fall. Weary of ſupporting the expence which it occaſioned, it abandoned to the inhabitants the commerce for furs, almoſt the ſole advantage which it drew from thence, reſerving only for the right of ſeignory, an annual acknowledgment of a thouſand beaver ſkins.

The number of aſſociates, originally one hundred, being reduced to forty, it remitted all its right to the ſovereign, who in a little time afterwards comprehended New France in the conceſſion which he had made of the French colonies in favour of the company of the Weſt Indies,

Indies, with the privilege of naming the Governors and all the other officers. This company not having ſufficient knowledge of perſons proper for filling the firſt poſts, petitioned the King to ſupply that defect until they ſhould be found in a condition to avail themſelves of their powers; to which his Majeſty was pleaſed to accede. BOOK III. 1664.

In conſequence of this arrangement, M. de Meſy had been nominated Governor-General, and M. Robert Intendant of New France.

On the 10th of November of the foregoing year, the King ſigned a commiſſion of Lieutenant-General, with the authority of viceroy in America, in favour of Alexander de Prouville, Marquis of Tracy, who had inſtructions to embark for the Windward Iſlands, to proceed from thence to Saint Domingo, and afterwards to New France, where he was to remain as long as ſhould be neceſſary, to regulate the affairs of that colony, to eſtabliſh its internal policy on more ſolid foundations, and to provide for its ſecurity, by reducing the Iroquois to reaſon.

It was about the period of M. Tracy's departure that the court received the complaints of M. de Petrée and the council of Quebec againſt M. de Meſy. The King was at the ſame time ſupplicated to ſend to New France families to people the colony.

BOOK III.

1665. Daniel de Remi, Seignor of Courcelles, an officer of merit and experience, was appointed ſucceſſor to M. de Meſy, and M. Talon, intendant in Hainault, ſucceeded M. Robert. Theſe gentlemen were enjoined by a particular commiſſion, conjointly with the Marquis de Tracy, to inveſtigate the conduct of M. de Meſy, and, if he was found guilty of the facts of which he was accuſed, to arreſt, and bring him to trial. Orders were given to embody the inhabitants, and the regiment of Carignan-Salieres, lately arrived from Hungary, where it had diſtinguiſhed itſelf in a war againſt the Turks, was embarked, and deſtined to make war on the Iroquois.

M. de Tracy arrived at Quebec in the month of June, with ſome companies of the regiment of Carignan, who had accompanied him to the Weſt India iſlands; and he detached a party with the allied ſavages, under the conduct of the Sieur de Tilly de Repentigny, a captain, to repel the Iroquois, who had begun their uſual incurſions. Nothing more was neceſſary to make theſe barbarians retreat; and the fruit of this firſt expedition was, that the harveſt was gathered in with ſecurity. The remaining part of the regiment arrived with M. de Salieres their colonel, in a ſquadron which conveyed M. M. de Courcelles and Talon, a conſiderable number of families, ſeveral artiſans and ſervants, with the

firſt

firſt horſes that had ever been imported, cattle, ſheep, and in fine, a colony much greater than that which it came to reinforce. BOOK III. 1665.

When theſe ſupplies arrived, the viceroy, without delay, put himſelf at the head of the troops, and led them to the mouth of the river Richlieu, where he cauſed to be erected three forts. The firſt was conſtructed on the ſame ſpot where that of Richlieu had ſtood, and of which only the ruins remained. M. de Sorel, a Captain of the regiment of Carignan, ſuperintended its ſtructure, and was left there as commandant. Since that period the river has taken his name, which was alſo given to the fort. The ſecond was built at the foot of the rapid, at ſome diſtance up the river, and was called Saint Louis. But M. de Chambly, captain of the ſame regiment, who had the charge of its conſtruction, and the command, having afterwards acquired the property of the ſurrounding diſtrict, the ſtone fort which has ſince been built on the ruins of the former, is at preſent known by the name of Chambly.

M. de Salieres took direction of the third, which he called Fort St. Thereſe, becauſe it was finiſhed on the day of the faſt of that ſaint; it was three leagues higher than the ſecond, and the colonel choſe to take poſt here. Theſe works were finiſhed with great expedition, and the Iroquois were for a time appalled; but they

BOOK III. 1665.

ſoon recovered from their fears. Only one paſſage to enter the colony was ſtopped, and they delayed not to open to themſelves ſeveral others. If inſtead of theſe three forts, there had been conſtructed a poſt of ſtrength at Onnontagué, or in the canton of Agnier, where care might have been taken to maintain a garriſon ſufficiently numerous, the enemy would have been much embarraſſed. That which now remains at Chambly, covers the colony on the ſide of New York, and on that of the lower Iroquois.

M. Talon, who remained at Quebec, was occupied in collecting information of the ſtrength, nature, and reſources of the country, a ſtatement of which he preſented to the miniſter M. Colbert. He acquainted him of the death of M. de Meſy, which took place before the news of his recal had arrived in Canada; it therefore was thought no longer expedient to enquire into his former conduct, and it was hoped his Majeſty would not be diſpleaſed that his faults ſhould be buried with him in the tomb.

Towards the end of December, M. de Tracy having returned to Quebec, Garahonthié, an Iroquois chief, arrived there with the deputies of his canton, and of thoſe of Goyogouin and Tſonnothouan; he brought ſome valuable preſents for the General, and aſſured him of the perfect ſubmiſſion of the three cantons. He ſpoke with

modeſty, but at the ſame time with dignity, of the ſervices he had rendered to the French; he then lamented, after the manner of his country, the death of M. le Moyne the miſſionary, who had been a ſhort time dead, and for whom the Iroquois nation had entertained a great eſteem. On this ſubject he ſpoke with ſuch eloquence and feeling as much ſurpriſed the viceroy and all who were preſent. He concluded with a propoſal of peace, and of a reſtitution of all priſoners belonging to theſe cantons, who had been captured ſince the laſt exchange. BOOK III. 1665.

M. de Tracy liſtened to him with attention, and ſhewed him public as well as private teſtimonies of kindneſs. He conſented to all his demands on reaſonable conditions, and having diſtributed preſents to him and the other deputies, they took their leave. The ſilence of the Agnier and of the Onneyouths, and moreover their paſt conduct, left no doubt of their unfavourable diſpoſition; and it was reſolved they ſhould be made acquainted that the French were now in a condition to take revenge for their inſolence and perfidy. Two corps of men, the one under the command of M. de Courcelles, the other under M. de Sorel, were ordered in purſuit of them. 1666.

The canton of Onneyouth, alarmed at theſe preparations, ſent deputies to Quebec, to avert

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the ſtorm which threatened them. Theſe deputies had full power to act in the name of the Agniers, who it appears had ſtill parties in the country, one of which ſurpriſed and killed three officers, M. M. de Chaſy, Chamat, and Moerin, the firſt of whom was nephew to M. de Tracy. This unhappy accident would not entirely have interrupted the negociation, had it not been for the brutal conduct of an Agnier chief.

M. de Sorel being on the point of falling on a village of this canton, met a troop of warriors belonging to it, who had at their head an Indian called the Flemiſh Baſtard. He made a diſpoſition to charge, when this captain ſeeing they were much inferior to the French, and finding no probable means of eſcape, took the meaſure of ſurrendering, ſaying with an air of confidence, he was on his way to Quebec to treat with M. de Tracy on terms of peace. He was believed, conducted to the viceroy, and met with a favourable reception. Another chief of the Agniers arrived a few days after, and reported himſelf as deputy for his canton. No doubt was then entertained that the Agniers were ſeriouſly diſpoſed for peace: but, the day on which M. de Tracy invited theſe two pretended deputies to his table, the diſcourſe happening to fall on the death of M. de Chaſy, the chief of the Agniers, lifting up his arm, ſaid, "by this arm that

that young officer was killed." It may eaſily be conceived what indignation was felt by every one preſent. The viceroy told this inſolent ſavage that he ſhould not ſurvive to kill another perſon, and he was immediately ſtrangled by the executioner in the preſence of the Flemiſh Baſtard, who was detained a priſoner. 1666.

On the other hand M. de Courcelles, who was unacquainted with what was paſſing at Quebec, had entered the canton of Agnier; but previous to the commencement of hoſtilities, he judged it expedient to have an interview with the commandant of Corton, a town in the province of New York, from whom he drew a promiſe, that he would give no aſſiſtance to the Iroquois. During this journey he ſuffered much, having performed it in the middle of winter, with ſnow ſhoes, and carrying his proviſions and arms, in the ſame manner as the ſoldiers, many of whom, lately arrived from France, were lamed by the ſeverity of the cold. A little more experience would have taught him, that whilſt he was beſtowing much trouble and time on a uſeleſs precaution, he loſt ſight of the object of his expedition. Having arrived at the canton of the Agniers, he there found the villages entirely deſerted: the women, the children, and the old men were placed in ſecurity in the woods; and all the warriors had marched againſt other nations,

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awaiting the iſſue of the negociations begun by the Onneyouths.

1666. M. Courcelles, on his return, found the preparations for an expedition againſt the Onneyouths and the Agniers far advanced. Six hundred ſoldiers of Carignan, a like number of Canadians, and about a hundred ſavages of different nations compoſed the army of M. de Tracy, who, notwithſtanding his advanced age, being upwards of ſeventy years, would command in perſon. Two field-pieces were the amount of his artillery; but theſe were inſufficient to force all the entrenchments of the enemy. At the moment of his making the diſpoſitions for marching, new deputies from the two cantons arrived at Quebec: he detained them priſoners, and began his march on the 14th of September.

Proviſions failing on its way, the army was ready to diſband in ſearch of ſubſiſtence, when it entered into a wood abounding in cheſnut-trees, which ſupplied the men with food until their arrival at the firſt village of the Iroquois.

The viceroy entertained the hope of ſurpriſing thoſe ſavages; but the Algonquins, who had taken the van without order, had given them the alarm, ſo that there remained in the villages but a ſmall number of old men and women, who were unable to follow the others in their retreat. The army entered the firſt village in order of battle;

battle; they found there a conſiderable quantity of proviſions, and made priſoners of all the ſavages. It appears that this canton was then richer than it has ſince been; the cabins were lined with boards, and ornamented; the dimenſions of ſome were a hundred and twenty feet in length, and of a proportionable breadth. 1666.

The ſoldiers in the courſe of their ſearch found magazines hollowed in the earth, according to the cuſtom of ſavages; theſe were ſo filled with corn, that there appeared a quantity of grain ſufficient to ſupport, for two years, the whole colony of the French. The firſt villages were reduced to aſhes; the two laſt were at ſome diſtance, but an Algonquin who had been a long time a ſlave in this canton, ſerved the army as a guide. The neareſt was without inhabitants; and it was only in the laſt that the enemy was found. They had ſuppoſed, that the French would not venture to attack them there, but when they beheld their approach, they were diſmayed.

They had not reſolution to wait for the attack, and flew to hide themſelves in places where it was not poſſible to purſue them. The cabins were ſet on fire, and not one remained in the canton.

Perſuaded that by means of the forts on the river Sorel he had put the colony ſufficiently under cover from the incurſions of the Iroquois,

M. de

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M. de Tracy conceived it the beſt meaſure to ſtrengthen and augment the ſettlements on the river St. Laurence, which was all he could do with the troops now at his diſpoſal; a meaſure which had already been recommended by the miniſter.

The inhabitants had built their houſes in ſome places as they choſe, without having had the precaution to ſettle near each other, that they might, when neceſſary, be ſupported by their mutual aid. Theſe habitations, therefore, being ſcattered in various ſituations, were expoſed to the attacks and devaſtations of the hoſtile ſavages. Orders had two years before been given by the King, that no more land ſhould be cleared, but in ſpots contiguous to each other, that the houſes might be contracted as much as poſſible into the form of villages. But for this effect, the inhabitants who had already cleared their land muſt have recommenced their labours, and have abandoned the ſpots they had already cultivated.

The plan which was there laid down was more than once renovated, with endeavours to enforce its execution; but intereſt, often more powerful than fear, has induced individuals to place themſelves in the moſt expoſed ſituations, where the convenience of commerce hid danger from their view, and experience of the hazards and ſuffer-

ings

ings which frequently befel them did not contribute to remedy their error.

1666. The viceroy on his return to Quebec, ordered for execution ſome of his priſoners, and ſent the remainder to their country, after having ſhewn them kindneſs.

When the navigation of the Great River became free from ice, M. de Tracy returned to France, and the laſt act of authority which he executed in America, was to eſtabliſh the company of the Weſt Indies in all the rights which the hundred aſſociates had enjoyed.

1667. Complaints on the part of the inhabitants having been made, with reſpect to the exorbitant proportion of tithes, a decree was this year promulgated by the ſuperior council of New France, which imported, that without prejudice to the letters patent granted already by the King, the tithes ſhould be levied at a twenty-ſixth part only; but that they ſhould be paid in grain, and not in the ſheaf, and that the lands newly cleared ſhould pay nothing for the firſt five years.

M. Talon left no means untried to increaſe the commerce of New France, and for this end it became neceſſary to procure returns proportionate to the advances which had been made, and to the opinion reſpecting the natural reſources of the country, with which he had inſpired the court. He had greatly in view the advantages

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advantages to be reaped from mines of iron, and on his return from France he diſembarked at Gaſpé, where he believed, according to the teſtimony of ſome travellers, that even ſilver ore might be found; but he was very ſoon undeceived. He ſent to St. Paul's Bay a miner, who diſcovered ore which appeared to be very productive, and he had a proſpect of finding copper. He remarked, that wherever he mined he found evident effects of the earthquake which happened four years before.

1667.

1668. New France now enjoyed profound peace, of which it had for the firſt time taſted ſince its original ſettlement. They who governed it, and to whom it was for this in a great degree indebted, neglected no means of profiting by the advantage, and of giving to the colony ſo ſolid a foundation as might render it worthy of the paternal attention which the King had been pleaſed to manifeſt towards it. The greater part of the regiment of Carignan remained there, and after the concluſion of the war with the Iroquois, almoſt the whole of the ſoldiers incorporated themſelves as inhabitants, having received their diſcharges on that condition. Six companies of the ſame regiment who had accompanied M. Tracy on his return to France, were ſent out two years afterwards, as well to reinforce the moſt important poſts as to augment the number of coloniſts.

Many

Many of their officers had obtained lands with the rights of ſeignors, almoſt all ſettled in the country, and married there, where their poſterity ſtill exiſts. The greateſt number were gentlemen, ſo that New France has more ancient nobleſſe than any other of the colonies. Wherever the land was cleared, it was found to be rich, and as the new inhabitants piqued themſelves on their endeavours to equal the virtue, induſtry, and love of labour of the old; all were ſoon in a condition to ſubſiſt themſelves, and in viewing the increaſe of population, its rulers and ſpiritual guides had the happineſs of experiencing, that no relaxation took place in the morals and religion of the people. 1668.

M. Talon was this year relieved by M. de Bouteroue, to whom it was particularly recommended wiſely to mitigate the too great ſeverity of the confeſſors and of the biſhops, and to maintain a good underſtanding among all the eccleſiaſtics of the country. This laſt article of his inſtructions was not grounded on any complaint; the union between all the bodies of which the clergy ſecular as well as regular were compoſed, was complete; and nothing tended more than this concord to the morality and inſtruction of the people.

The intendant on his arrival in France made a complaint to the court of the conduct of M. Courcelles

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1668. Courcelles with reſpect to him. This general, amid attainments fitted to form one of the moſt accompliſhed men that had ever governed the colony, had ſome defects, among which was that of a want of activity; and he would not ſuffer any perſon to ſupply the inconvenience which was occaſioned by his indolence, even when the public intereſt required it.

M. Talon, therefore, in the diſcharge of his official functions, refrained from communicating to the governor many parts of buſineſs which ought to have been made known to him, becauſe he dreaded a delay, which would be prejudicial to the King's ſervice, or to the welfare of the colony. It likewiſe appeared that M. de Courcelles was not uſually eaſy of acceſs, and that he approved not of the indulgence which had always been ſhewn towards the clergy, againſt whom he was ſomewhat prejudiced.

1670. In the courſe of this year the buſineſs of erecting the church of Quebec into a biſhopric was finally decided. This event had ſuffered a long delay, on account of the oppoſition which was made to its immediate dependence on the holy ſee, reſpecting which the Pope would by no means relax. The patronage of the biſhopric of Quebec, which therefore was veſted in his Holineſs, prevented it not from being in ſome meaſure united to the clergy of France. In order to endow

endow the new biſhopric and the chapter of the cathedral, the King united the two abbacies of Maubec, and M. de St. Valier, who ſucceeded M. de Laval, afterwards obtained the reverſion of the abbacy of Benevent, partly for the biſhopric, and partly for the chapter. 1670.

Some change in the government of Montreal at this time took place. M. de Maiſonneuve having wiſhed to retire, M. de Bretonvilliers, ſuperior General of the ſeminary of St. Sulpice, named M. Perrot as his ſucceſſor. This new Governor, thinking that the commiſſion of an individual and a ſubject could not inveſt him with ſufficient conſequence and authority, and fearing leſt the ſervices which he might render this poſt would not be ſufficiently eſtimated, applied for, and obtained a commiſſion from the King, where it was expreſsly ſpecified, that it had been given on the nomination of M. de Bretonvilliers.

Although M. de Courcelles wanted activity, and appeared indolent with reſpect to affairs which concerned the internal regulation of the colony, he was neither deſtitute of energy nor exertion in whatever had a relation to war, or to the ſavages. Having learnt that the Iroquois had ſent preſents to the Outaouais, to engage that people to bring furs to their villages, on purpoſe

BOOK III. 1670.

purpoſe to exchange them with articles furniſhed by the Engliſh at New York; he conceived that if ſuch a project ſhould ſucceed, the commerce of New France would be ruined. His views extended yet further, and he doubted not that if the cantons could once detach the northern nations from the French alliance, they would again commence hoſtilities, which the fear of the French arms, joined to thoſe of the allies, had for a conſiderable time repreſſed.

To avert the conſequences of ſuch an evil, he reſolved to ſhew himſelf to the Iroquois, and his journey procured the ſucceſs which he expected. He even thought it expedient to take his rout by the St. Laurence, whoſe courſe is much embarraſſed with torrents and foaming rapids from the iſland of Montreal to the diſtance of near a hundred and thirty miles, in aſcending towards lake Ontario, becauſe he wiſhed to convince the barbarians that he could reach their country, after performing the whole of the journey in batteaux, which is not ſo practicable by the rout of the river Sorel. This expedition much impaired his health, and he found it neceſſary to requeſt his recal.

Three French ſoldiers, having met an Iroquois captain, who had with him a quantity of furs, they gave him a ſufficient quantity of ſpirits to produce intoxication, after which they aſſaſſinated

nated him. Notwithſtanding the precautions they had taken to conceal their crime, they were diſcovered and put in priſon. Before theſe were brought to trial, three other Frenchmen fell in with ſix Mahingans, who were conducting a quantity of ſkins equal in value to a thouſand crowns; they alſo deprived them of their faculties by liquor, and after having maſſacred them had the effrontry to offer for ſale their merchandiſe, which they endeavoured to paſs for the produce of their own labours in the chace. They had not the precaution even to bury the bodies of the unhappy ſavages, which were ſoon after found and recognized by perſons of their own nation.

1670.

The Iroquois, with whom theſe were concluding a treaty of peace, were ſuſpected of the murder, and they were preparing to demand reparation, when it was reported that the deed had been committed by Frenchmen. One of the three aſſaſſins diſagreeing with his two aſſociates, confided the ſecret to a friend, who thought it his duty to make it known. The truth afterwards reached the ears of the ſavages, and the two nations who were upon the eve of entering into a war againſt each other, united to turn their arms againſt the French. The Mahingans were the firſt to take the field, and attacked a French houſe in open day. The maſter was abſent,

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ſent, and it was defended by the ſervants; two ſavages were killed, but two others having ſet fire to the houſe, it was found impracticable to extinguiſh the flames, or to ſave their miſtreſs who was burnt.

The Iroquois were likewiſe not long in being informed of the circumſtances of the aſſaſſination committed on the perſon of their chief, and they were alſo aſſured that two of the murderers had been accuſed by the third, of having entertained a plan of poiſoning all whom they could meet belonging to their nation. Much leſs than this cauſe was wanted to revive their hatred, which they reſolved to carry to great extremities. It became neceſſary on the part of the French to adopt immediate meaſures, in order to avoid being involved in a war, from which unhappy conſequences might enſue, and M. de Courcelles, who quickly diſcerned the importance of this affair, loſt not a moment in going to Montreal, where he learnt that ſavages of ſeveral nations connected with the Iroquois and Mahingans were arriving.

He aſſembled them, ſo ſoon as he had diſembarked, and gave them, by means of an interpreter, ſuch ſtrong reaſons for their intereſt in remaining on good terms with the French, that many were convinced of this truth. He then cauſed to be brought forth the three ſoldiers who had

had aſſaſſinated the Iroquois chief, and made them to be executed in their preſence. So prompt an adminiſtration of juſtice diſarmed the Iroquois, who could not refrain from teſtifying marks of pity for their lamentable fate. The Governor-General added, that he would uſe every endeavour to bring to puniſhment the aſſaſſins of the Mahingans, and that they ſhould be dealt with in the ſame manner as thoſe unhappy perſons whoſe end they had now witneſſed. He indemnified the two nations for the merchandiſe of which they had been robbed, and the aſſembly broke up with mutual ſatisfaction. 1670.

This affair being thus happily terminated, there remained another of no leſs importance and delicacy. The Outaouais and the Iroquois had begun their incurſions on each other, and it was to be apprehended that theſe ſparks might produce a general flame. M. de Courcelles, who had always acted with energy and deciſion towards the ſavages, and who thereby accuſtomed them to reſpect him, declared to the two parties, that he would not ſuffer them to diſturb the repoſe of the nations, and that with the ſame ſeverity which he had exerciſed towards the Frenchmen in their preſence, he would puniſh thoſe who refuſed to accommodate themſelves to reaſonable conditions. He therefore deſired that each ſhould ſend to him their deputies, that he

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might weigh their grievances, and do juſtice to both.

1670. He was obeyed: the chiefs of the nations reſorted to Quebec. They who thought themſelves aggrieved diſcloſed their complaints, and by the prudence of Garakonthie, an Iroquois chief, who had come on the part of his canton, and the firmneſs of the governor, peace was concluded to the ſatisfaction of every one.

Whilſt peace was thus eſtabliſhed in the colony, and meaſures were taken to preſerve a good underſtanding between the French and ſavages, the north of Canada was ravaged by a contagious diſtemper, which completed, almoſt entirely, the depopulation of thoſe extenſive territories. The Attikamegues, among others, have ſince diſappeared; and if there are any remains of them, they muſt be mixed with diſtant nations.

It was then that Tadouſſac, where heretofore were to be ſeen at the periods fixed for traffick upwards of twelve hundred Indians, began to be almoſt abandoned; and Three Rivers became reduced to a ſimilar ſituation. The Algonquins who frequented the latter place, retired to Cape Madelene, which is conſiderably lower down, on the borders of the St. Laurence. The French however maintained themſelves at Three Rivers, but Tadouſſac was long deſerted.

The

The cauſe of this mortality was the ſmall pox, BOOK III. which ſome years afterwards entirely ſwept off the inhabitants of the ſettlement at Sillery. Fifteen hundred ſavages were attacked by it, and not one of them ſurvived. 1670.

The Hurons, although always mixed with the French, who had communicated to the ſavages this malady, loſt fewer of their numbers than the others; and it was about this period that Father Chaumonot, having aſſembled them about three leagues from Quebec, towards the north-weſt, gave a beginning to the miſſion of Lorette, which is now a conſiderable village.

The inclination which ſavages entertain for warfare is ſuch, that the moſt trifling cauſe of diſcontent arms them againſt each other; nor are they reſtrained even by a ſuperior force, but through the fear of immediate puniſhment, or the proſpect of advantage. Supplies from France, which had been promiſed, did not arrive, and the Governor ſupported his credit among the natives only by the aſcendence which he well knew how to aſſume over them ſince the expedition of M. de Tracy againſt the Agniers. He could not, however, prevent the Tſonnonthonans, the moſt diſtant from the French habitations of all the Iroquois, from delivering themſelves up to the powerful impulſe which led them to make war. 1671.

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1671. At a period when leaſt expected, they attacked the Pouteouatamis; M. de Courcelles was ſoon informed of it, and gave them to underſtand that he was much diſſatisfied; that, contrary to his inſtructions, and to the ſolemn promiſe which they had given him, they ſhould preſume to attack a people who were at peace, and who relied on the obſervance of treaties; that he would not ſuffer them to diſturb the tranquillity which had been effected by his endeavours; that they ſhould ſurrender into his hands the priſoners which they had made among the allies, and if they refuſed to ſend them ſafe and untouched, he would himſelf go and ſnatch them from their gripe, and would treat their canton as he had done that of Agnier.

A meſſage ſo haughty tended to irritate the Tſonnonthouans; they aſked if all the people of this great continent, ſince miſſionaries were eſtabliſhed among them, ſhould become ſubjects of the French, and if they ſhould be no longer permitted to avenge inſults which they had received? That the Iroquois cantons had made peace with Ononthio, but on that account they did not conceive they ſhould become his vaſſals; that they would rather periſh than ſuffer the ſmalleſt encroachment on their liberty and independence; and, it might be recollected, that they had more than once convinced the French, that they

they were not allies who would be treated with haughtineſs, nor enemies who ought to be deſpiſed. 1671.

On reflecting, however, more maturely on the conſequences of a rupture, for which they were not ſufficiently prepared, the Tſonnonthouans held a council to decide on the part which they ſhould act, and it was agreed that they ſhould ſend to the Governor eight priſoners out of thirty-five, whom they had made among the Pouteouatamis. The General believed, or pretended to believe, that they had acquired no more, and he conceived it not prudent to puſh to extremities a nation with whom it was better to remain at peace.

Many of the Iroquois who had been converted to the Chriſtian faith, left their country and joined the Hurons; their numbers became at length ſo conſiderable, that a plan was formed of ſeparating them from the Huron Chriſtians, and aſſigning them a ſettlement of their own, on a ſpot about four miles above the Rapids of St. Louis, and oppoſite to the ſouth-weſt end of the iſland of Montreal.

The Algonquins alſo, who were ſenſible that they owed to the French their preſent enjoyment of tranquillity, entered into a cloſe alliance with them, and M. Talon thought, that advantage of this favourable diſpoſition ought to be embraced,

BOOK III. 1671.

in order to eſtabliſh the rights of the crown in the moſt remote quarters of Canada; and that a perſon who had before viſited the diſtant nations ſhould be diſpatched towards the north and the weſt, to perſuade them to ſend deputies to a convenient place, where they might treat upon this ſubject.

Nicholas Perrot, a traveller, was the perſon choſen for this ſervice; his apprehenſion was lively, and he had received ſome ſhare of education. Neceſſity had obliged him to enter into the ſervice of the Jeſuits, by whom he had been employed in an intercourſe with the greater part of the nations of Canada, and had learnt the languages of almoſt the whole. He was much eſteemed by the ſavages, with whom he had practiſed every mode of conciliation and addreſs, and had thereby acquired a ſtrong influence over them. Perrot viſited the nations in the vicinity of all the lakes, who ſent deputies to the Falls of Saint Mary, where Lake Superior diſcharges itſelf into Lake Huron. The Sieur de Saint Luſſon, ſub-delegate of the Intendant of New France, arrived at that place in May, charged with a ſpecial commiſſion to take poſſeſſion of all the countries occupied by theſe people, and to place them under the protection of the King. After having delivered a diſcourſe to the deputies to induce them to aſſent to his views, he gained their

their compliance. A croſs was then erected, on which were placed the arms of France, and after ſome religious ceremonies, feaſting, and dancing, the aſſembly diſperſed, and each returned to his country. BOOK III. 1671.

The Hurons Tſonnontatez, weary of leading an erratic life, which was never agreeable to the genius of this nation, eſtabliſhed themſelves at Machilimakinac; they did not occupy any part of the iſland, but took poſſeſſion of a point of land which advances towards the ſouth, having oppoſite to it another point turned towards the north. Theſe two points form the ſtrait by which Lake Huron communicates with Lake Michigan. The Hurons were conducted thither by Father Marquette, who in his Memoirs confeſſes that there were in the vicinity many ſituations more eligible for a ſettlement, but aſſigns no reaſon for his choice of a ſpot which was much expoſed to exceſſive colds, proceeding from the three immenſe lakes near which it ſtands being often agitated by piercing and tempeſtuous winds.

Towards the end of this year the Iroquois terminated ſucceſsfully a war which they had made for ſeveral years againſt the Andaſtez, and the Chaouanons, their neighbours. Succeſs and misfortune had been for a long time equally divided, but at length theſe two people were almoſt completely 1672.

BOOK III. 1672.

completely exterminated, and the victors, especially the Tſonnonthouans, incorporated in their cantons a great number of captives which they had made from both nations. Such has always been their policy, to repair at the expence of the enemy, the breaches which war has made in their population.

M. de Courcelles become more than ever convinced of the neceſſity of oppoſing a barrier to a reſtleſs people who had now no longer any occupation abroad, and whoſe power and reputation in arms, every day increaſed. He cauſed the chiefs of the cantons to be informed, that he had an affair of importance to communicate to them, and that he ſhould forthwith aſcend to Catarocony, and ſhould expect to meet them there. They aſſembled in great numbers, and the General, after having beſtowed on them every mark of kindneſs, and ſome valuable preſents, declared to them that he had a deſign of building in this place a fort, to which they might conveniently reſort to trade with the French.

They did not then perceive, that under a pretence of conſulting their convenience, the Governor had in view no other end than to keep them in reſtraint, and to inſure a depôt for his ammunition and proviſions, in caſe he ſhould be driven to reſume hoſtilities. They then replied that they thought the project well adapted for

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the purpoſe he had aſſigned to them; and immediate meaſures were taken for its execution, but time did not allow its being finiſhed by M. de Courcelles. It has already been ſtated, that he had applied for his recall, and on his return to Quebec, he found the Count de Frontenac arrived to relieve him. He experienced no difficulty in perſuading his ſucceſſor of the utility of the object he had then in view, and in the following ſpring the new General went to Catarocony, and conſtructed the fort, which, as well as the lake near whoſe entrance it is ſituated, for a long time bore his name. 1672.

The departure of M. de Courcelles was a loſs to the colony. If he poſſeſſed not all the brilliant qualities of his ſucceſſor, he was likewiſe exempted from his defects, and was leſs under the influence of paſſion. His endeavours towards promoting the proſperity of the province were well directed and ſincere. The prejudice which he bore to the miſſionaries and eccleſiaſtics, prevented him not from imparting to them on occaſions when he found it neceſſary or uſeful, a portion of his confidence, and from authoriſing them in all the functions of their miniſtry. The judgment, firmneſs, and experience, with which he governed, rendered him beloved by the French, and reſpected by the natives. The tranquillity of Canada would probably

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1672.

probably not have been troubled had they who ſucceeded him entered into his views, and followed the traces which he had marked out.

Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac, was a lieutenant-general in the King's army, and grandſon to a knight of the orders, who during the war of the League was diſtinguiſhed for his attachment to his lawful ſovereign, and had merited the confidence of the Great Henry. The count poſſeſſed ideas ſtill more elevated than his birth. Of a ſpirit at once lively, penetrating, ſolid, fruitful, cultivated; he was nevertheleſs ſuſceptible of the moſt unjuſt prejudices, and capable of carrying them beyond the boundaries of reaſon. He wiſhed to rule alone, and uſed every means of removing to a diſtance thoſe who attempted to oppoſe him. Equal in valour and capacity, no perſon knew better how to aſſume over the people whom he governed, or with whom he was to treat, that aſcendant which was neceſſary to retain them in duty and reſpect. He procured when he would, the friendſhip both of the French and the allies, and no officer ever treated his enemies with greater diſdain. His plans for the aggrandiſement of the colony were extenſive and juſt, and he neglected no means to ſhew the government of France the advantages which might be reaped therefrom; but his prejudices ſometimes impeded the execution

tion of projects which depended on himself. It was difficult to reconcile the regularity of his conduct, and the piety of which he made profession, with that acrimony and asperity which he displayed towards those at whom he took umbrage, or whom he disliked; and he gave grounds for concluding, on one of the most important occasions of his life, that ambition and the desire of preserving his authority had more influence over him than his zeal for the public welfare. 1672.

M. Talon wishing to return to Europe, employed himself, during the time he remained, in a manner which caused his retreat from office to be regretted as a loss to the colony. After having established the authority of the King to the most distant parts that had hitherto been known, he projected new discoveries. It became generally believed from the reports of the savages, that there flowed to the westward of New France a great river, by some called Mechasipi, and by others Missisippi, whose course was directed neither to the north nor to the east. No doubtful expectation was therefore entertained that, by means of the river, a communication might be opened, either with the Gulph of Mexico, if it flowed to the southward, or with the Pacific Ocean, if it discharged itself to the west. Great advantages

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advantages were anticipated from either of thoſe channels of navigation.

1672. The Intendant was unwilling to take his departure from America until he ſhould aſcertain this important point. He entruſted the execution of this diſcovery to Father Marquette, who had already traverſed a great portion of the country of Canada, and who was much reſpected by the ſavages. With him he aſſociated in this enterprize a merchant of Quebec named Joliet, a man of experience and talents. They began their rout together from the Great Bay on Lake Michigan, embarked on the river *des Renards*, which there diſcharges itſelf, and aſcended to near its ſource, notwithſtanding the rapids which render its navigation perilous and difficult. They then quitted it, and after travelling for ſome diſtance by land, re-embarked in the Ouiſcouſing, ſteered towards the weſt, and at length reached the Miſſiſippi, about the forty-ſecond and a half degree of north latitude.

On the 17th of June they entered that celebrated river, of which, the magnitude as well as depth, appeared to them fully to correſpond with the idea which the ſavages had given. They allowed themſelves to be conducted by its current, which in that part is not very rapid, and they had not proceeded far when they met with ſome people

1672.

people belonging to the nation of the Ilinois. They discovered three villages of this people about nine miles below the place where the Missouri joins its waters to the Mississippi. These natives were much gratified at the sight of Frenchmen, having for a long time wished to form an aliance with their country, because the Iroquois were beginning to make incursions into their territory, and they dreaded the effects of a war, which they were unable singly to sustain. They therefore gave to the travellers the most cordial reception, and prevailed upon them to promise the exertion of their good offices with the Governor-General.

After having remained a short time among the Ilinois, they pursued their journey, and descended the river to Akansas, about the thirty-third degree of latitude. Perceiving that their stock of provisions was fast declining, reflecting also that with three or four men it would not be prudent to penetrate too far into a country of whose inhabitants they had no knowledge, and since they could no longer entertain a doubt that the Mississippi discharged itself into the Mexican Gulf, they directed their rout towards Canada, and ascended the great river, as far as that of the Ilinois, which they entered. Having arrived at Chicagou on Lake Michigan, they separated. Father Marquette remained amongst the Miamis,

BOOK III. 1673.

and Joliet went to Quebec, to give a deſcription of his voyage to M. Talon, whom he had not the good fortune to meet, as he had returned to France.

The violent conduct of M. de Frontenac embroiled him in diſſenſions with the eccleſiaſtics and miſſionaries, and ſoon after with M. du Cheſneau, who had relieved M. Talon. The Abbé de Salinac Fenelon, who belonged to the ſeminary of St. Sulpice, was impriſoned, under pretence that he had preached againſt the Count, and had procured from the inhabitants of Montreal atteſtations in favour of M. Perrot their governor, whom the General had put under arreſt.

A complaint was made againſt the Governor-General for having compoſed the ſuperior council of people who were at his devotion, and by that means ſupporting his tyrannical purpoſes, had rendered himſelf ſole arbiter of juſtice.

In order to put ſome reſtraint upon the Iroquois, it was conceived expedient, by thoſe who had lately held the government of the colony, to engage ſavages by every means to join the new eſtabliſhment near Montreal, on the *Praire de la Magdeleine.* Father Fremin was entruſted with this charge, and acquitted himſelf of it with ſucceſs. But it was ſoon diſcovered that the land there was not adapted to the grain which the

ſavages

ſavages were accuſtomed to ſow, and famine beginning to appear, the infant ſettlement was threatened with a general deſertion. 1672.

To prevent this evil, the miſſionaries requeſted of the Governor and Intendant another ſpot oppoſite the rapids of St. Louis. The Count Frontenac returned no anſwer to their petition; but M. du Cheſneau, who conceived the retreat of the ſavages inevitable if they were refuſed their demand, granted them the land, and put them in poſſeſſion. It was foreſeen that the General would not approve of this meaſure, but it was not imagined that he would carry his diſlike to ſuch lengths as he did; in this affair he ſo far forgot himſelf, as to appear inexcuſable to his beſt friends.

The Iroquois Chriſtians remained however, at the rapids of St. Louis, and the court, who judged this ſettlement neceſſary, maintained them there, although contrary to the inclination of M. de Frontenac. What had principally induced theſe proſelytes to forſake their country, and to ſearch an aſylum in the French colonies, was, that the Dutch having taken Montratte, and reconquered all New York, had threatened to drive the miſſionaries, if they did not of themſelves retire, from the canton of Agnier. The reaſons aſſigned for this meaſure were, that they

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1675.

were afraid leſt the Iroquois ſhould unite themſelves to the French by the bond of religion.

M. du Cheſneau ſuffered leſs from the haughtineſs of the General than the eccleſiaſtics and miſſionaries, and their diſagreement took place on the ſubject of the ſuperior council, of which that officer wiſhed to aſſume the whole authority, and even appropriated to himſelf the functions and the title of preſident. The King, in order to put a ſtop to theſe differences, which tended to kindle the flames of diſorder in all parts of the colony, becauſe theſe two chiefs had each his partiſans, made an ordinance on the fifth of June, regulating all matters of diſſenſion in ſuch a manner as gave ground to hope that every vain pretenſion on either ſide might ceaſe. It was there decided by his Majeſty, that the Governor-General ſhould have the firſt place in the council, the Biſhop the ſecond, and the Intendant the third, but that the latter ſhould demand the opinions, collect the votes, and pronounce the decrees.

The Count de Frontenac was, however, ſtill diſſatisfied, and under various pretences, treated all thoſe extremely ill who, in this point, or in any other, oppoſed his inclinations. He even embraced the ſtrong meaſure of exiling, by his own authority, the Procureur-General, and all the counſellors; he came to an open rupture with the Intendant,

Intendant, and proceeded to declare, that he was ſorry he had not put him in priſon immediately after the departure of the veſſels, by which means he would have held him in confinement two whole years, becauſe the lapſe of that time was neceſſary before an order from the court for his releaſe could arrive. BOOK III. 1675.

A conduct ſo unjuſtifiable could not long be concealed from the Sovereign; but it appears that his Majeſty was not made acquainted with ſome of the extravagances of this General, who had at court powerful relations and protectors. Two letters were on this occaſion written by the King's order, the one addreſſed to the Count de Frontenac, the other to M. du Cheſneau. In that to the latter he remarked, that he might have avoided all the violence of which he complained, had he followed the orders given, and ſatisfied himſelf by explaining his reaſons to the Governor, and laying them before the whole council. In the letter to the Count de Frontenac, his Majeſty, after reproaching him, that by his pretenſions, he diſturbed the repoſe of New France, added, that in the minutes of the council, by wiſhing to qualify himſelf as chief and preſident, he had acted in expreſs contradiction to the edict concerning this eſtabliſhment. That he ſhould therefore abandon this pretenſion, and content himſelf with the office

BOOK III.

1675. and title of Governor and Lieutenant-General. Neither did he deſire that the title of Preſident of the Council ſhould be given to the Intendant, but that he ſhould poſſeſs all the functions of that office. He prohibited the Governor from keeping the minutes of council in his houſe, from collecting the voices, and from pronouncing the decrees. All theſe functions belonged to the ſituation of Preſident, which was attached to that of Intendant. In that letter alſo, the King renewed his commands on the ſubject of the vagabonds, who were uſually named *Coureurs de Bois*, and declared to the General, that on this head he would receive no excuſe, perſuaded that to him alone it belonged to ſtop the progreſs of ſuch a diſorder, which ruined and depopulated the country, and annihilated the commerce.

Another ſubject yet more important was the cauſe of diſagreement between the Governor-General and the biſhop. The irregularities and fatal conſequences produced among the Chriſtian ſavages by the commerce of ſpirits, has already been mentioned. It had for ſeveral years been renewed, and produced the ſame effects, which had already occaſioned much regret to all thoſe who concerned themſelves in the welfare of theſe people.

The biſhop, the clergy, and the miſſionaries, made loud complaints againſt the uſe of an article

ticle in traffic, whoſe tendency became ſo de- 1675.
ſtructive. But means had been taken to perſuade the council of the King, that the diſtribution of ſpirits among the natives, was the moſt powerful mode of attaching them to the intereſts of the French; that the abuſes concerning which the eccleſiaſtics made ſo much noiſe, if they were not altogether imaginary, were at leaſt much exaggerated, and that their zeal on this point ſerved them only as a pretence to perſecute and procure the recal of thoſe who prevented them from aſſuming the chief power in the province.

The frequent repreſentations of this evil, 1676.
however, at length attracted the notice of the King, and a decree of the council was promulgated, ordering that a committee, compoſed of twenty of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants of New France, ſhould give their opinion concerning the traffic in queſtion. The reaſons on one ſide and on the other being tranſmitted, it was his Majeſty's pleaſure that the archbiſhop of Paris, and Father de la Chaiſe, the King's confeſſor, ſhould give their definitive deciſion upon the ſubject; and each, after a conference with the biſhop of Quebec, who was then in France, declared that the traffic of ſtrong liquors in the habitations of the ſavages ought to be prohibited under the moſt ſevere penalties. This judgment was confirmed by an ordinance of the King, and was

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transmitted to M. de Frontenac with strict injunctions for its rigid execution.

1676. The departure of M. Talon, and the death of Father Marquette, had for some time excluded all thoughts of the Mississippi, and no measures were taken to complete the discovery. At length Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Sale, who had passed some years in America, with a view of increasing his fortune, or of undertaking some enterprise, from the execution of which he might derive credit and honour, conceived that it would be a favourable opportunity of attaining his object, if he entered into the designs of M. Talon respecting the further discovery of that great river, and of the country which it watered.

He was born at Rouen, of a family in good circumstances, but having spent many years among the Jesuits, he derived no inheritance from his relations. He possessed what was still more valuable, an improved understanding, and an ardent desire to distinguish himself, with a sufficient strength of genius and courage to urge him on to success. His constancy and firmness in surmounting obstacles were not inferior to the fertility of his mind in finding resources to remedy the evils arising from misfortune. But he was a stranger to the art of procuring from others affection and esteem, and of assuming a suitable demeanour to those of whose assistance he

he might be in want; the moment he was poſſeſſed of authority he exerciſed it with ſeverity and haughtineſs. With ſuch defects in his character he could not be fortunate, neither was he. 1676.

The firſt project which he formed, and which had induced him to croſs the ſeas, was to ſearch for a paſſage to Japan and China, by the north, or by the weſt of Canada. He was engaged in this occupation when Joliel arrived at Montreal with the news of his diſcovery. Far from doubting, when he had converſed with that traveller, that the Miſſiſippi diſcharged itſelf into the Gulph of Mexico, he further indulged a hope, that in aſcending this river towards the north, he might diſcover what had been the object of his reſearches; but at all events the diſcovery of its mouth would lead him to ſomething that might eſtabliſh his reputation and fortune. He had the good fortune to gain the favourable opinion of the Count de Frontenac, whoſe inclinations he had ſedulouſly ſtudied; he opened to him his views, and the General aſſured him of his aid and protection. The firſt object of his attention was to procure funds for the expedition, to get himſelf inveſted with a character that would give him authority, and to obtain a force ſufficient to command reſpect from the ſavages. La Sale had, at his leiſure, made all theſe reflections, and his plan was al-

BOOK III. 1676.

ready prepared. He well knew how much the Count de Frontenac had at heart every means of ſtrengthening the port at Catarocony; he propoſed to him to augment the fortifications, to place there a garriſon capable of defending it againſt any enterpriſes of the Iroquois, to eſtabliſh inhabitants there, that, in caſe of neceſſity, men and proviſions might be had from thence, and alſo to conſtruct barks at that place for navigating lake Ontario.

Nothing could be better conceived, as far as regarded utility and convenience, and the General was of opinion that La Sale ſhould make a voyage to France, and lay his deſign before the miniſter. On his arrival at court he was informed of the death of M. Colbert, and delivered to the Marquis de Seignelay, a letter from the Count de Frontenac; he had afterwards ſeveral interviews with him and the miniſter, who diſcerned his genius and talents, obtained for him from the King every thing of which he ſtood in need. His Majeſty beſtowed on him letters of nobility, granted him the ſeignory of Catarocony and the government of the fort, upon condition that he would cauſe it to be rebuilt with ſtone; and he further inveſted him with all the powers neceſſary to carry on a free commerce, and to continue the diſcoveries which had been begun.

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The Prince de Conti, to whom he found access, ſupported his intereſt with the King, and contributed much to obtain for him thoſe marks of royal favour which have been mentioned. The prince recommended to him, as a companion in his travels, the Chevalier Tonti, and this La Sale regarded as an additional inſtance of kindneſs; for he found that gentleman ever much attached to his intereſts, and received from him the moſt ſignal ſervices. 1676.

On the 14th of July La Sale and Tonti embarked at Rochelle with thirty men, among whom were pilots and workmen, and arrived at Quebec on the 15th of September. They remained but a ſhort time at that place, becauſe the approach of winter was not diſtant, and they wiſhed to arrive at Catarocony before the end of autumn. They took with them Father Louis Hennepin, a Flemiſh recolèt, who afterwards accompanied them on the greateſt part of their voyages. The firſt care of M. La Sale on his arrival at Catarocony was to re-build the fort of ſtone, which was before compoſed only of ſtakes: he at the ſame time conſtructed a barque; and theſe labours were executed with a diſpatch which impreſſed a favourable idea of the activity of that officer. Conducting his barque to Niagara, he there traced a fort, and after having travelled on foot through all the canton of Tſonnonthonau, 1678.

and

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and made during the reſt of the winter a number of other journies, with no other object in view but that of the fur trade, he returned by land to Catarocony, and ſent back a ſecond time his barque to Niagara, loaded with proviſions and merchandiſe.

In the following year he filled his magazine at Niagara, and viſited the different ſavage nations, with whom he wiſhed to eſtabliſh a trade, and from whom he hoped to acquire ſome information relative to his intended diſcoveries. On the other hand, the Chevalier de Tonti was occupied in the ſame manner.

Towards the middle of Auguſt, the barque which had been conſtructed on lake Erie being in a condition for ſailing, La Sale therein embarked forty men, among whom were three recolèts, and took the rout to Michilimakinac. He experienced on the voyage a conſiderable ſtorm, which tended to diſguſt a part of his people, and many even deſerted; but the Chevalier de Tonti, who had taken another rout, having met them, was fortunate enough to engage almoſt the whole to follow him. Tonti deſcended to the Ilinois, and La Sale returned to Catarocony. The nation on whom he chiefly relied for the ſucceſs of his expedition, was the Ilinois, at that time very numerous, and who occupied many poſts where convenient entrepôts might be eſtabliſhed,

eſtabliſhed, between Canada and the Miſſiſippi. It was to ſecure the favourable opinion of theſe ſavages, that Tonti had advanced on that quarter, and he would without trouble have ſucceeded in engaging them in his intereſts; but as he was then attended by very few followers, he could not prevent his new allies from receiving almoſt in his preſence a new check from the Iroquois, who not having been able to prejudice them againſt the French, wiſhed, previous to an open declaration of war, to put them out of a condition to help them; they were ſurpriſed, and great numbers were cut in pieces. 1678.

La Sale there found himſelf in a diſcouraging ſituation. He had much to apprehend from the Iroquois, whom he expected to meet in every part of his journey. The Outaouais were ſuſpected; on many of the people under his orders he could not depend, ſome of whom attempted more than once to deprive him of life. It was ſaid that they even went further; that they ſolicited his allies to riſe againſt him, and in order to urge them to act that perfidious part, they were not aſhamed to inſinuate, that in conjunction with the Iroquois he had formed a plan for their deſtruction.

Under theſe diſadvantageous circumſtances he arrived among the Ilinois, and ſoon perceived that their conduct towards him was ſomewhat changed;

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changed; he was even apprehenſive that this whole nation would riſe againſt him, and he could not rely on any of his followers. He betrayed, however, no ſymptoms of diſquiet; on the contrary, he aſſumed a tone of firmneſs and reſolution. By that means he commanded reſpect, but he too much endeavoured to make himſelf feared: this was always his principal defect, and the chief occaſion of his misfortunes.

1678.

1679. Towards the end of this year he loſt a part of his people, among whom were ſome of thoſe on whom he moſt relied. They had formed a deſign to poiſon him, as well as all thoſe whom they believed moſt attached to his intereſts. They were diſcovered, and could embrace no other meaſure than to ſave themſelves by flight. La Sale replaced them by a band of young Illinois, whom he found well inclined to accompany him. He detached a perſon named Dacan with Father Hennepin to aſcend the Miſſiſippi above the river Ilinois, and if poſſible to diſcover its ſource.

1680. Theſe two travellers ſet out from the fort of Crevecœur on the 28th of February, and entering the Miſſiſippi aſcended to the forty-fourth degree of latitude: they were here impeded by a lofty fall of water which occupies the whole breadth of the river, and to which Father Hennepin gave the

the name of the Fall of St. Anthony of Padua. They ſoon afterwards were captured by the Sioux, who retained them for a long time as priſoners, but treated them with great lenity. At length being releaſed by the arrival of ſome Frenchmen from Canada, they deſcended to the mouth of the river, and returned to Fort Crevecœur, without any circumſtance worthy of remark having occurred. It was, however, much doubted whether they had performed this journey, and it was ſuppoſed that they only returned to the fort by the ſame courſe they had aſcended. 1680.

After the departure of Father Hennepin and Dacan, new difficulties aroſe, which contributed to the detention of M. de la Sale at the fort of Crevecœur until the month of November, and finally obliged him to return to Catarocony. On his way he diſcovered on the borders of the river Ilinois, which he was aſcending, a ſpot which appeared advantageous for the conſtruction of a new fort; he traced the plan, left the execution of it to M. de Tonti, and continued his journey. The work had ſcarcely been begun, when it was learnt that the French who had been left at Fort Crevecœur had mutinied. Tonti went thither and found only ſeven or eight men, the reſt having made their eſcape with every thing they could carry away.

Not

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1680.

Not long after, the Iroquois, to the amount of ſix hundred warriors, appeared in view of the Ilinois ſettlements, and this irruption having augmented the diſtruſt of that people towards the French, the Chevalier Tonti found himſelf in a difficult ſituation. The part which he took was to become a mediator between the two ſavage nations, and employed with ſucceſs in this negociation two recolèts who remained with him at Fort Crevecœur. The peace was of ſhort duration, and the Iroquois, become more haughty by the fear which they ſeemed to inſpire, ſoon recommenced their hoſtilities.

Hitherto the Iroquois had not openly declared themſelves againſt theſe Frenchmen; at length they undertook to drive them from the river of the Ilinois, and the Chevalier Tonti, having had advice that an army of theſe barbarians was coming to invade the Fort of Crevecœur, thought it moſt prudent not to wait till their arrival, and he accordingly retired.

M. de la Sale was not informed of this retreat, and was much ſurpriſed in the ſpring of the following year to find Fort Crevecœur abandoned. He there poſted a new garriſon, ſent workmen to complete the new fort which he had traced the year before, and went to Michilimakinac, where Tonti with his party had not long before arrived. They departed from thence together

together in their way to Catarocony, and three months being ſpent in making new levies of Frenchmen, and in collecting proviſions, La Sale took the rout of the Ilinois with all his people, and found his two forts in the ſtate he had left them. 1680.

He again deſcended the river of the Ilinois, and on the 2d of February reached the Miſſiſippi. On the 4th of March he took poſſeſſion, with the uſual ceremonies, of the country of the Akanſas, and on the 9th of April he diſcovered the mouth of the river. This important point being attained, and the courſe of one of the largeſt rivers in the univerſe gained to France by poſſeſſion, to which no earlier pretenſions could be advanced, La Sale re-imbarked on the 11th of the ſame month. On the 15th of May he was taken ſick, and he detached the Chevalier Tonti, to whom he recommended it to endeavour as quickly as poſſible to reach Michilimakinac: he did not himſelf return to Quebec till the following year. Some months after his arrival he embarked for France. 1682.

There had taken place in the colony, during the abſence of La Sale, conſiderable changes, and men were not ſo favourably diſpoſed towards him, as when he commenced his diſcoveries.

The

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1682.

The misunderstanding which had happened between the Governor-General and the Intendant, had proceeded to such extremities, that it was no longer possible they could live together in the same colony.

The court, it is certain, attributed to the Count de Frontenac the greatest share of blame, but notwithstanding the mildness of M. du Cheneau's character, he possessed not a sufficient share of good nature to endure the haughty and imperious conduct of that General, although it had been recommended to him to yield upon occasions. For want of a sufficient self-command, to enable him to regard with unconcern the ill humour of the General, he sometimes partook of the same haughtiness of disposition, and it was therefore become necessary that both should be recalled.

It has been before stated, that the tithes of the clergy were fixed at a twenty-sixth part of the produce, and that they should be paid in grain. From the increase of the colony, it became necessary to establish new curacies. It was then requisite that the tithes should belong to the curés, and not, as heretofore, to the seminary. These two points were fixed by a royal edict, five years after the erection of the church of Quebec into a bishopric. This edict confirmed also the provi-

ſional regulation of the ſuperior council reſpecting the tithes, but it added that if they were found inſufficient for the ſupport of the curés, the council ſhould provide them with an addition, to be ſupplied by the inhabitants and holders of eſtates. This, however, did not take place, becauſe the King granted from his domain ſeven thouſand ſix hundred livres a-year, to aid the ſubſiſtence of the clergy. 1682.

M. Le Fevre de la Barre was nominated Governor-General, and M. de Meules Intendant. In the inſtructions framed on this occaſion, it was ſpecially recommended to the firſt, by the King, to entertain a friendly correſpondence with the Count de Blenac, Governor-General of the American iſlands, for it was then conceived, that the two colonies might, from the various articles of their produce, derive advantages by a reciprocal commerce. It was ſtrongly recommended to M. de Meules to be upon good terms with the Governor; and, if in the exerciſe of his functions, that officer ſhould adopt meaſures prejudicial to the general welfare, he would be ſatisfied with making to him repreſentations thereupon, reminding him of the inſtructions he had received; if this was without effect, to take no further ſteps, but allow the Governor to proceed as he thought proper. He was, however, to render an account to the council, of any

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measure which he conceived of hurt to the interests of the state.

New France had been for many years in a state of great confusion, and was now threatened with a war capable of re-plunging her into her original misfortunes. Her strength also seemed daily to diminish; for, by the last returns of the population, which had been made two years before, there were only eight thousand five hundred and fifteen persons, without comprehending Acadia.

Many circumstances had contributed to draw a-new the Iroquois into a war with the French. Since New York had become an English settlement, Colonel Dongan, who was Governor, had taken much pains to afford to the Iroquois merchandise at a cheaper rate than could be supplied by the French, because the company, which then carried on the exclusive commerce for peltry, had a preferable choice of a fourth of the beaver skins, of a tenth of other furs and of leather, and bought the remainder at a low rate. Some other causes of mutual discontent had taken place, when an unforeseen accident tended to evince the unfavourable disposition of the Iroquois with regard to the French. A Captain of the Tsonnonthouans had been killed at Michilimakinac by an Ilinois, with whom he had some private quarrel. According to the policy of the savages,

ſavages, the firſt marks of reſentment of ſuch as have been injured fall neither on the murderer nor on the nation to which he belongs, but upon the actual poſſeſſors of the place where the offence has been committed. It belonged then to the Kiſkacons, a nation of the Outaouais, in whoſe territories the Iroquois chief had fallen, to make ſatisfaction to his nation. M. de Frontenac had diſpatched to the Cantons a confidential perſon, to endeavour to gain a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities until he ſhould have time to oblige the Kiſkacons to make them an atonement.

He at the ſame time invited them to ſend to Catarocony, where he would go in perſon, deputies, with whom he might treat of this affair, and of all other ſubjects of complaint which might be ſtated on the one ſide or the other. A few days after, he received a meſſage from Onnontagué, by which he was informed, that theſe ſavages exacted, that he ſhould advance as far as the entrance of the river Chouaguen, which diſcharges itſelf into lake Ontario on the ſouth.

The General replied to the perſon who gave him the information, that he would never conſent to ſuch a meaſure, becauſe this acquieſcence would increaſe the inſolence of the Iroquois, and were it even not derogatory to his dignity, he could not undertake ſuch a voyage with ſatis-

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faction or safety to his person, without incurring a very great expence. He had not yet seen the Kiskacons, and knew not what resolution they might adopt. He concluded by requesting the author of the letter containing the foregoing information, to use all his endeavours to persuade the Onnontagués to assume sentiments of greater moderation and respect.

He would abate nothing of the haughtiness with which, like M. Courcelles, he had always treated the savages. He publicly declared that he would take under his protection the Outaouais, and all his old allies, and he permitted the Kiskacons to construct new forts, in order to defend themselves should they be attacked.

Some of the Iroquois, gained by their missionary, relaxed so far in their original demand as to consent to assemble at Catarocony, but M. Frontenac then declared, that he would go no further than Montreal, and that if the Iroquois meant to communicate with him, he would there wait for them until the month of June; but at the expiration of that period he would return to Quebec. This reply enraged the Iroquois, who on their part asserted, that they would treat with the Governor-General only at Chouaguen.

Some time afterwards the General making a visit to the island of Montreal, met with the Sieur Forêt, major of the fort of Catarocony, who brought

brought with him five of the Iroquois. They were deputies of the five cantons, who were inſtructed to aſſure their father Ononthio, that they were diſpoſed to be upon good terms with him, and with his allies. 1682.

M. de Frontenac gave them an audience on the 11th of September, and on the following day replied, that it reſted not with him that a good underſtanding was not eſtabliſhed between the two nations; but, as the Ilinois were excepted from the peace, which the cantons would maintain with the allies, and that it was confeſſed, that they were preparing to make a vigorous war againſt that people, the General made them ſome valuable preſents, to induce them to lay aſide their determination.

Scarcely had they left Montreal, when other deputies arrived, on the part of the Kiſkacons, the Hurons of Michilimakinac, and the Miamis. The General omitted no argument to perſuade the firſt to ſatisfy the Iroquois on the ſubject of the murder which has been related. They anſwered, that they had charged the Hurons to preſent belts on their part, which was all they conceived themſelves obliged to perform, being not the authors of that deed. But the Hurons, willing to embroil the parties, far from acquitting themſelves of their commiſſion, had even increaſed the umbrage of the Iroquois againſt them.

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them. In vain did the General inſiſt on engaging them to adopt different meaſures, for the preſervation of peace; all that he could obtain was a promiſe that they would remain on the defenſive.

Affairs were in this ſtate when M. M. de la Barre and De Meules arrived at Quebec; they even learnt that the deputation of Teganiſſorens, one of the chiefs who had been at Montreal, had no other motive on the part of the cantons but to amuſe the French; and that war was begun againſt the Ilinois. Thus the Iroquois were ſoon expected to be ſeen in arms in the middle of the colony. On the other hand, it was ſoon perceived that the friends of the Count de Frontenac would not find in his ſucceſſor the ſame protection they had enjoyed; and it appeared that M. de la Barre was already prejudiced againſt the Sieur de la Sale, concerning whom he made too early a declaration not to give reaſon for judging, that he had conceived an unfavourable opinion of that traveller, without having conſidered his general conduct.

Such is the lot of thoſe characters, whom a mixture of great virtues and great defects draws forth from the ordinary ſphere of human life. Their paſſions urge them to the commiſſion of faults, and if they execute what is beyond the reach of others, their enterpriſes receive not general

neral approbation; their ſucceſs excites the jea- BOOK III.
louſy of ſuch as remain in obſcurity, and ſhould it be uſeful to ſome, it may be hurtful to others; 1682.
the one party exaggerates their merit, the other decries them beyond the bounds of moderation. Hence the different delineations which are drawn bear no reſemblance to the living character; but, as hatred and malediction not unfrequently operate more powerfully than gratitude and friendſhip, the enemies of the Sieur de la Sale contributed more to disfigure, than his friends to embelliſh his portrait.

Letters had been written to the court by M. de la Barre and others, wherein La Sale was mentioned in very unfavourable terms; but his cauſe was brought to a tribunal already impreſſed with an opinion of his talents and merit, and his preſence in France effaced, in part, the repreſentation which had been made againſt his conduct. The miniſter did not believe him to be altogether exempted from the faults with which he had been charged, but weighing the utility of his talents, he thought it neceſſary to employ him. He gave him ſome advice reſpecting his future conduct, but unhappily for La Sale, he forgot, or profited not by the ſuggeſtions of the miniſter.

M. de la Barre had not long aſſumed the reins of the government, when he perceived that New France was placed in the moſt delicate conjunc-

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ture. He therefore thought it expedient to convoke an aſſembly, compoſed not only of the Biſhop and Intendant, but of the principal officers of the army, many members of the ſuperior council, the chiefs of ſubordinate juriſdiction, the ſuperior of the ſeminary, and of the miſſions, and he requeſted the whole to give him their advice reſpecting the cauſes and nature of the evils which had brought the colony to its preſent ſtate, and reſpecting the remedies which ought to be applied, in order to reſtore it to proſperity.

It was there obſerved to the General, that the object of the Iroquois was to draw to themſelves all the commerce of Canada, to tranſport it to the Engliſh and the Dutch at New York, and conſequently the two latter nations ought to be conſidered in a hoſtile view, eſpecially, as for a conſiderable time they had endeavoured privately to excite the cantons to come to an open rupture with the French; that theſe barbarians, to avoid having too powerful a force againſt them, had ſtudied only to amuſe them, whilſt they were ſedulouſly occupied in debauching the allies, or in deſtroying, one after the other, all thoſe whom they were unable to detach from the French intereſts; that they had begun by the Ilinois, and that it was of the firſt moment to prevent theſe people from being loſt by their efforts; but that the

the attempt to aſſiſt them would be attended with difficulty; that the colony could furniſh at the utmoſt a thouſand men fit to undergo the fatigues of campaigning, and that even for this number, the labours of huſbandry muſt in part be ſuſpended.

They further repreſented that, previous to taking arms, magazines well furniſhed with proviſions and ammunition, ought to be eſtabliſhed in ſituations the neareſt that could be found to the enemy's country, for the reaſon that the march ſhould be undertaken not merely to ſtrike terror into the Iroquois, a meaſure which had contented M. de Tracy, but, to reduce them to a ſituation that they might be no longer able to diſquiet the colony; it would therefore be neceſſary to remain a conſiderable time in this country, or on its environs; that the fort of Catarocony was well calculated for this deſign, becauſe from that poſt an army might, in forty-eight hours, fall on the canton of Tſonnonthouan, though moſt remote of all; that three or four barques on lake Ontario were required to tranſport proviſions, ammunition, and the number of men that might be wanted for that ſervice; that it was into the borders of that canton that war muſt be carried; but that previous to engaging in ſuch an enterpriſe, two or three hundred ſoldiers muſt be requeſted of the King, part of whom muſt

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muſt be ſtationed in the forts of Catarocony and Galette, to guard the head of the colony, whilſt all the other forces ſhould be employed beyond its limits; that his Majeſty ought likewiſe to be ſupplicated to ſend into the colony a thouſand or fifteen hundred labourers, to cultivate the lands in the abſence of the land-holders; alſo funds for the magazines, and for the conſtruction of the barques; that to engage the King to incur this expence, it would be requiſite to acquaint him of the urgent neceſſity of the war, of the inability of the colony to ſupport it, and, above all, to repreſent to him that the want of reinforcements from France incited the contempt of the ſavages; whereas, if thoſe people knew of the arrival of French troops, the Iroquois would perhaps be overawed, and the allies would not heſitate to lend a ſtrong arm againſt a nation, of whoſe power they were in continual dread, but over whom they would believe themſelves certain of triumphing, if they beheld the French in a condition powerfully to ſecond them.

The reſult of this deliberation was drawn up and tranſmitted to the court. It was there approved, and the King gave orders for the immediate embarkation of two hundred ſoldiers. He wrote to the Governor-General, and gave him advice that Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York, had received an expreſs order from the King

King of Great Britain to entertain a friendly intercourſe with the French, to which he doubted not that officer would conform. 1682.

During the government of M. Frontenac, the recolèts, by the intereſt of that officer, obtained from the King permiſſion to conſtruct a chapel, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the biſhop, who, in concert with the Jeſuits, made uſe of every means in his power to prevent their being allowed that indulgence.

BOOK IV.

Expedition of M. de la Barre againſt the Iroquois.—Diſtreſs of his Army.—Conference at the Bay of Famine.—M. Denonville Governor-General.—Manner in which the Traffic for Furs was conducted.—Affairs of the Clergy.—Of the Law.—Iroquois Chiefs ſeized at Catarocony, and conducted to France for Galley-Slaves.—Expedition againſt the Iroquois.—Conſtruction of a Fort at Niagara.—That Fort, on Account of an infectious Malady, abandoned and deſtroyed.—Treaſon and Policy of a Huron Chief called the Rat.—Character of the Marquis de Denonville.

BOOK IV.

1683.

M. De la Barre made preparations for war againſt the Iroquois, without loſing ſight of the hope of an accommodation with theſe barbarians, diſpoſed to treat with them if he could do it with honour. Being informed that they were on the point of marching, to the number of fifteen hundred men, againſt the Miamis and Outaouais, although they had publiſhed that their deſtination was againſt the Ilinois, he diſpatched a confidential perſon, who arrived at the great village of the Onnontagués, the rendezvous of the warriors, on the evening of the day

day on which they propoſed to ſet out for their campaign.

1683.

The envoy was well received, and had not much difficulty to draw from the Iroquois a promiſe to ſuſpend the expedition, and to ſend deputies to Montreal in order there to treat with the General; but it was ſoon after diſcovered, that they had ſpoken thus only to quiet the French. They affirmed, that their deputies ſhould be at Montreal before the end of the month of June. But in the month of May, M. de la Barre had advice that ſeven hundred men of the cantons of Onnontagué, of Goyogouin, and of Onneyoûth, were on their march to attack the Hurons, the Miamis, and the Outaouais; and that the Tſonnonthouans, with ſome Goyogouins, intended towards the end of ſummer to ſpread themſelves in troops throughout the French habitations.

The General, in imparting theſe news to the miniſter, acquainted him that the project had been formed at the inſtigation of the Engliſh, who in their negociations made uſe of French fugitives, whoſe deſertion they encouraged. From what he could judge of the preſent diſpoſition of the Iroquois cantons, he conceived that it became a meaſure of neceſſity, either totally to abandon Canada, or to make an effort to deſtroy at leaſt the Tſonnonthouans and the Goyogouins,

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ins, the moſt animated againſt the French, and who could eaſily lead two thouſand men into the field. He therefore ſolicited him to engage the King to ſend as early as poſſible four hundred men, that on the beginning of Auguſt at the fartheſt he might enter into the enemy's territory with a force ſufficient to reduce theſe barbarians to reaſon; but that he believed it neceſſary, firſt of all, to obtain from the Duke of York, to whom New York belonged, an order for the governor of that province not to throw any obſtacles in the way of his expedition.

The Iroquois found it more to their advantage to trade with the Engliſh and Dutch than with the French, becauſe at New York beaver ſkins were ſubject to no duties; the traffic was free to every one, and the purchaſers derived from thence more profit; which placed them in a ſituation to afford their merchandiſe at a lower rate. As the cantons however were not inclined to employ open force but in the event of coming to extremities, and as in reality they dreaded the French more than they appeared to do, deputies from the five cantons arrived at Montreal in Auguſt, but they were charged to make only vague proteſtations of a ſincere attachment, and nothing further could be drawn from them.

Many circumſtances concurred to render this embaſſy ſuſpected, and it was believed that the cantons

cantons wiſhed to gain time, and to throw the general off his guard. He however gave a favourable reception to the deputies, treated them with kindneſs, and ſent them home loaded with preſents. BOOK IV. 1683.

A few months had ſcarcely elapſed, when fourteen Frenchmen, who were proceeding with merchandiſe to the Ilinois, were attacked by the Iroquois and pillaged of every thing they had, amounting to upwards of fifteen thouſand livres.

M. de la Barre was then reſolved to carry on a war. He had received intelligence that the cantons were making great preparations, and had ſent ambaſſadors to the ſavages of Virginia, to aſcertain that they ſhould not be attacked from that quarter, whilſt they were occupied againſt the French. The general believed that he could with greater facility and leſs riſque anticipate the deſign of theſe barbarians, by carrying war into their territory, than to drive them from the colony if once they had got a footing there. But as he had received very ſmall ſupplies from France, and as thoſe which he ſtill expected could not ſoon arrive, he was obliged to have recourſe to the allied ſavages.

M. de la Durantaye, who commanded at Michilimakinac, and M. de Luth his lieutenant, who was at the bay on lake Michigan, had in-

BOOK IV. 1683.

ſtructions to acquaint the nations in theſe quarters, that Ononthio was about to march againſt the Iroquois; that he would begin with the Tſonnonthouans, and that he invited his allies to Niagara, where he ſhould arrive about the middle of Auguſt with his whole forces. The greater part of theſe people were not leſs intereſted than the French in the deſtruction of the Iroquois, who were inclined to uſurp a ſpecies of domination over this extenſive part of the continent, and to render themſelves the ſole maſters of its commerce. It was, however, with difficulty that the levies were made. When M. Durantaye arrived at Niagara with five hundred warriors, he had the misfortune not to find the French at that place; and it required much addreſs to ſatisfy the ſavages whom he had led thither.

The General having made his preparations, ſet out from Quebec on his way to Montreal, where the troops were ordered to aſſemble. He ſent, during his march, a meſſage to Colonel Dongan, to inform him, that if he was inclined to take revenge for the blood of twenty-ſix Engliſhmen of Maryland, who had been killed by the Tſonnonthouans during the preceding winter, he might join his army; he at leaſt firmly relied on the promiſes he had given him in conſequence of the Duke of York's orders, that

that he would uſe no means to weaken the effects of an expedition ſo juſt; that he was taking meaſures to repreſs the inſolence of a nation which would not ſpare the Engliſh if it had nothing to fear on the part of the French. 1683.

The General took another precaution which ought to have inſured the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe; this was to cauſe a diviſion in the cantons, that he might not have to encounter the whole at the ſame time. For this purpoſe he ſent belts to the Onnontagués, to the Agniers, and to the Onneyouths, to engage them to remain neuter between him and the Tſonnonthouans, who alone had offended him, and againſt whom he was marching. Having taken other meaſures of ſecurity, he proceeded with ſeven hundred Canadians, a hundred and thirty ſoldiers, and two hundred ſavages, formed into three diviſions. He left Quebec on the 9th of July, and arrived at Montreal on the 21ſt of the ſame month. As he proceeded from thence towards Catarocony, he learnt that the other cantons had obliged that of the Tſonnonthouans to accept of their mediation with the French, and demanded the Sieur le Moyne to negociate this important affair. He likewiſe had intelligence, that the canton againſt which he was marching had put all their proviſions in a place of ſecurity, and that the war would have no other effect than to unite the

BOOK IV. 1683.

whole nation againſt the French. But if he would be contented with ſatisfaction from this canton, the inhabitants were well diſpoſed to grant it, and would ſuſpend all hoſtilities againſt the allies. Since however, it was ſaid, they made theſe advances, it was not becauſe they believed they had much to fear, for the Governor of New York had made them an offer of four hundred horſemen, and as many infantry if they ſhould be obliged to ſupport a war.

There was no queſtion, that if Colonel Dongan had fulfilled his offer, it would have been accepted of, and that M. de la Barre would thereby have found himſelf in great difficulties; but he required too high a price for the aſſiſtance which he propoſed to lend, and had ſpoken in too high a tone to a nation naturally fierce, and which had never loved nor eſteemed the Engliſh. This Governor had begun by erecting in the country of the Iroquois the arms of the Duke of York; he afterwards ſent to prohibit the cantons, on the part of this prince, whom he ſtiled their Sovereign, from treating with the French, without his participation. He alſo enjoined them to profit by the aids which he would afford to deliver themſelves from the tyranny of the French.

This commiſſion was as ill executed as it was imprudent. The envoy addreſſed himſelf to the Iroquois

Iroquois in the ſtile of a maſter, and aſked them if they would not obey the Governor of New York, who repreſented their lawful Sovereign? This mode of procedure ſhocked the Onnontagués. One of their chiefs immediately called on Heaven to witneſs the injury which had been offered to the whole nation, and of the unjuſtifiable conduct of the Engliſh ambaſſador, who wiſhed to embroil the country in war. He then addreſſed him in a tone which ought to have made him ſenſible of his imprudence, and of the indignation which it had excited in all preſent. He ſpoke thus: BOOK IV. 1683.

"Know, that Onnontagué places himſelf between Ononthio, his father, and the Tſonnonthouan, his brother, to prevent them from fighting. I was willing to believe that Corlar* would have ſtood in my rear, and would have called to me, *Courage, Onnontagué, ſuffer not the father and ſon to kill each other.* I am ſurpriſed that his envoy ſhould hold a very different language, and ſhould endeavour to prevent me from ſtopping the arm of the one and of the other. I cannot believe that Corlar poſſeſſes ſo malevolent a ſpirit. Ononthio is pleaſed to honour me by coming to my cabin to make peace;

* The name given by the ſavages to the Governor of New York.

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ſhall the ſon diſhonour his father? Corlar, attend to my words. Ononthio has adopted me for his ſon; he entertained me at Montreal, and he habited me in that quality; we then planted the tree of peace, and we have alſo planted it at Onnontagué, whither my father has uſually ſent his ambaſſadors. I have two arms, one of which I extend towards Montreal, the other to Corlar, who has long been my brother. Ononthio has been for ten years my father; Corlar is my brother, becauſe ſuch is my wiſh; but neither of them is my maſter. He who created the world gave me this land which I occupy—I am free—I reſpect both—but neither has a right to command me, and no perſon ought to take offence that I prevent the earth from being troubled. I therefore will not delay to meet my father, ſince he has taken the trouble to come to my door, and ſince he can have nothing but reaſonable propoſitions to diſcuſs."

It appears by this diſcourſe, that the Sieur le Moyne had arrived in the canton before the envoy of the Governor of New York. He was, however, well received, being known and reſpected by theſe ſavages, and reſtored to them a priſoner whom he had conducted from Quebec.

From the bad quality of the proviſions, M. de la Barre's army was reduced to a moſt deplorable

able ſtate. This evil increaſed to ſuch a degree, that there was reaſon to fear he would be obliged to retire without waiting for the Iroquois deputies; this would have expoſed the French to the ridicule of the ſavages, and perhaps have induced them to alter their intention. They met M. de la Barre, who was encamped on the borders of lake Ontario, on the north ſide, in a ſmall bay, five or ſix leagues to the eaſtward of their river, to which, the extreme want they had ſuffered for fifteen days cauſed them to give the name of the Bay of Famine. BOOK IV. 1683.

In all their negociations theſe ſavages make uſe of collars, or belts of wampum, which are two or three feet in length, and ſix inches in breadth, ornamented with ſmall grains of porcelain, made from ſhells found on the coaſt of Virginia. No tranſaction can be entered into without the intervention of theſe belts, which ſerve as contracts and obligations among them, and ſupply the abſence of writing. They preſerve ſometimes for an age, thoſe they have received from their neighbours, and, as each has a diſtinctive mark, the ſachems or ancients are acquainted with the time and place at which they were given, and what they import. They frequently uſe them after the lapſe of many years, in the arrangement of new negociations.

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The ſavages ſeated themſelves on the ground in their uſual mode, forming an extenſive ring, ſeveral of the French being indiſcriminately mixed with them; M. de la Barre placed himſelf in a chair in the front of his tent, and his interpreter delivered in his name the following harangue.

"The King, my maſter, informed that the five Iroquois nations have, for a conſiderable time, interrupted the tranquillity which prevailed, has commanded me to march into this country, followed by an eſcort, and to ſend Akoueſſan * to the village of the Onnontagués, to invite the principal chiefs to approach my camp. The intention of this grand Monarch is, that we ſhould ſmoke, you and I together in the great calumet of peace, provided that you promiſe, in the name of Tſonnonthouans, Goyogouins, Onnontagués, Onneyouths, and Agniers, to make entire reparation and ſatisfaction to his ſubjects, and to do nothing in future which may lead to an unhappy rupture.

"The inhabitants of thoſe villages have pillaged, ill treated, and ruined, all our people who were employed in the chace, and who went on commercial views to the country of the

* The Partridge, a name given to M. le Moyne.

Ilinois,

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Ilinois, of the Oumamis, and of the other nations, children of my Sovereign. And as you have acted on these occasions contrary to the treaty of peace concluded with my predecessor, I am charged to demand reparation, and to signify, in case of refusal, or of relapse into those offences, that I have express orders to declare war."

This belt guarantees my word.

"The warriors of the Iroquois have conducted the English to the lakes of the King my master, and to the people who are his children, to destroy the commerce of his subjects, and to alienate those nations from the obedience which they owe him. They have led the English thither, notwithstanding express injunctions to the contrary, given by the former Governor of New York, who foresaw the hazard to which both would be exposed. I will readily forget these aggressions; but if a similar conduct is again adopted, I have express orders to declare war against you."

This belt contains my words.

"These warriors have likewise made several inhuman incursions into the country of the Ilinois and of the Oumamis. They have there massacred men, women, and infants; captured, bound, and led away, a great number of the people of these two nations, who, in the midst of

BOOK IV. 1683.

peace, conſidered themſelves ſecure in their villages. Theſe people who are the children of my King, ought no longer to be your ſlaves. You muſt reſtore them to liberty, and quickly ſend them back to their country, which if the five nations refuſe, I have orders to declare war againſt them."

This belt confirms my words.

" The foregoing is what I had to addreſs to the deputies, that they might explain to the five nations the declaration which the King my maſter has commanded me to make. He is unwilling that they ſhould oblige him to ſend a ſtrong army to Catarocony, to commence a war which would be fatal to them. He would alſo be much mortified, that this fort, which is a work of peace, ſhould be converted into a priſon for your warriors. Means muſt be purſued, both on the one point and the other, to avert ſuch a calamity. The French, who are the brothers and friends of the five nations, will never diſturb their repoſe, provided they will give the ſatisfaction demanded, and that the treaty of peace be henceforward pointedly obſerved. I ſhould feel the diſquietude of deſpair, did not my words produce the effect which I deſire; for, I ſhould then be compelled to act in conjunction with the Governor of New York, who, by order of his King, would aid me in conſuming by fire, vengeance

geance and deſolation, the five nations of the Iroquois."

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This belt confirms what I have ſaid.

The interpreter of M. de la Barre having ceaſed to ſpeak, La Grangula, the Tſonnonthouan deputy, who during the foregoing ſpeech ſeemed to fix his eyes on the end of his pipe, aroſe, and after making five or ſix turns within the circle compoſed of Frenchmen and ſavages, he reſumed his ſituation, and ſtanding erect, and regarding the General with a fixed and ſtern look, replied in the following terms:

"Ononthio, I honour thee. All the warriors who accompany me likewiſe honour thee. Thy interpreter hath finiſhed thy diſcourſe; I am about to ſpeak in reply. My voice haſtens to thy ears; liſten then with attention to my words.

"Thou muſt, on leaving Quebec, have imagined, Ononthio, that the intenſe heat of the ſun had conſumed the foreſts, which render our country inacceſſible to the French; or, that the lake had ſo overflowed its boundaries, that finding our villages in the midſt of the waters, it were impoſſible for us to quit them. Yes, Ononthio, thou muſt have believed either of thoſe improbabilities; and curioſity to ſee ſo large a tract of country burnt up, or inundated, muſt have induced thee to travel thus far. Thou art now undeceived,

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undeceived, ſince I and my warriors come hither to aſſure thee, that the five nations have not yet periſhed. I thank thee in their name for having brought back into their lands the calumet of peace, which thy predeceſſors received from their hands. I at the ſame time congratulate thee for having buried under ground the murderous hatchet * which has ſo often been ſtained with the blood of thy countrymen. Attend, Ononthio; my eyes are open, and the ſun which gives me light diſcloſes to my view a great captain, at the head of a troop of warriors, who ſpeaks like one in a dream. He ſays, he has approached this lake for the purpoſe of ſmoking in the great calumet with the Onnontagués, but La Grangula ſees on the contrary, that it was for the purpoſe of deſtroying them, if ſo many of thy people had not been enfeebled by diſeaſe.

"I ſee that Ononthio dreams amid a camp of invalids, whoſe lives the Great Spirit hath ſaved, and reſtrained them by infirmity, from proſecuting their deſign. Our women would have taken the war clubs, our children and old men would have carried the bow and arrow to thy camp, had not our warriors interpoſed to diſarm

* To raiſe the hatchet, is to proclaim war; to bury it, is to enter on terms of peace.

them,

1683.

them, on the arrival of Akoueſſan thy meſſenger at our village.

" We have pillaged, Ononthio, only thoſe Frenchmen who carried fuſils, powder and ball to the Ilinois and the Oumamis our enemies, becauſe theſe arms might have been fatal to us. In this, we have acted like the Jeſuit miſſionaries, who break all the caſks of ſpirits which are brought to our villages, apprehenſive leſt drunken Indians might knock them on the head.

" Our warriors have not beaver furs to pay for all the arms they have ſeized, and our poor old men are not afraid of war."

This belt contains my word.

" We have introduced the Engliſh to our lakes, to traffic there with the Outouais and Hurons, in the ſame manner that the Algonquins have conducted the French to our five villages, there to carry on a commerce which the Engliſh ſay belongs to them. We are born free, we depend neither on Ononthio nor on Corlar; it is given to us to go wherever we pleaſe, and to ſell and purchaſe what we think proper. If thy allies are thy children or thy ſlaves, reſtrain them from the power of receiving among them any other people but thine own."

This belt contains my word.

BOOK IV.

1683. "We have attacked the Ilinois and the Oumamis, becauſe they have cut down the tree of peace which ſerved for the limits of our frontiers. They came to hunt the beaver on our lands, and, contrary to the practice of all other ſavages, have entirely extirpated thoſe animals both male and female. They have drawn the Chaouanons into their country and into their party. After having meditated evil deſigns againſt us, they have given them fire arms. We have not acted with ſuch injuſtice as the Engliſh or the French, who without title have uſurped, for the purpoſe of building forts and towns, the lands of ſeveral nations whom they have driven from their countries and their homes."

This belt contains my word.

"Ononthio, attend; my voice is that of the five Iroquois cabins. This is the anſwer which they give thee; open wide therefore thine ears, and liſten to that which they declare to thee.

"They ſay, that when they interred the hatchet at Catarocony in the centre of the fort, in preſence of thy predeceſſor, they planted at the ſame time the tree of peace, to be there carefully preſerved; that inſtead of a retreat for warriors, this poſt ſhould be only a rendezvous for merchants; that inſtead of arms and ammunition, merchandiſe and beavers only ſhould be admitted. Take care for the future, that ſo great a num-

a number of warriors as are here preſent, if ſhut up in that fortreſs, ſtifle not that tree. Having ſo happily taken root, it were an evil much to be lamented ſhould its growth be impeded, and ſhould it thereby be prevented from ſhading with its branches thy country and ours. I aſſure thee, that our warriors will dance under the ſhadow of its leaves the calumet dance; that they will repoſe in quiet on their mats; that they will not unbury the hatchet to cut down the tree of peace, until Ononthio and Corlar in conjunction or ſeparately ſhall have put themſelves in motion to attack this country, of which the Great Spirit made a diſpoſal in favour of our anceſtors. 1683.

"This collar contains my word, and that, the power with which I am inveſted by the Five Nations."

The deputies of Onnontagué guaranteed, that the Tſonnonthouans ſhould make reparation for the loſs which their warriors had occaſioned to the Frenchmen, whom they pillaged in going to war againſt the Ilinois; but they exacted from the General, that his army ſhould decamp next day; whereupon he immediately departed himſelf, after giving orders for the execution of this laſt article.

It was not expected at court that hoſtilities would ſo ſoon terminate; ſtill leſs that they 1684.

ſhould

BOOK IV.

1684.

ſhould end in a manner ſo little honourable to the nation. M. de la Barre was ſcarcely arrived at Quebec, when he received a reinforcement of troops, which might have put him in a condition to give law to thoſe from whom he had received it. The detachment was commanded by M. M. Montertier and Deſnos, captains of the marine.

A letter was at the ſame time received from the King, importing that it was his majeſty's pleaſure that theſe two officers ſhould command, in the moſt advanced and moſt important poſts in the colony; and that their authority ſhould be independent of M. de la Barre, who being engaged in a difficult war, and from his advanced age being unable to tranſport himſelf to places where his preſence might be neceſſary, they were ſent as perſons on whoſe experience and exertions great confidence might be placed.

It was further added, that as the King's ſervice required every poſſible means of diminiſhing the numbers of the Iroquois, and, as theſe Indians were ſtrong and robuſt, they might be uſefully employed in the gallies, he was ordered to make as many priſoners of war as poſſible, and to ſend them over to France.

This order could not be executed when it was received by M. de la Barre. His ſucceſſor however did not fail to uſe it, when the war with the Iroquois re-commenced, and the unhappy conſequences

ſequences which it produced will hereafter appear.

1684. New France acquired this year an officer of great merit, who rendered to it the moſt important ſervices. M. Perrot, governor of Montreal, being upon bad terms with the members of the ſeminary of St. Sulpicius, who had, as has already been mentioned, in quality of ſeignors, the right of nominating the Governor, the King, for the maintenance of tranquillity, gave to M. Perrot the government of Acadia, and appointed for his ſucceſſor the Chevalier de Callieres, a captain of the regiment of Navarre. The limits of his government were in the following year deſcribed to extend to lake St. Peter.

1685. M. le Marquis de Denonville arrived this year at Quebec with a reinforcement of troops. He had been nominated Governor-General of New France on the arrival of the veſſels which had carried out to Canada M. M. Deſnos and Montertier; the King having been made acquainted with the manner in which the peace with the Iroquois had been concluded, conceived that it would not be of long duration, and as the great age and infirm ſtate of health of M. de la Barre rendered him little qualified to carry on a war with vigour, his majeſty ſaw the neceſſity of appointing a ſucceſſor to his government. He therefore made choice of the Marquis de Denonville,

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ville, colonel of dragoons, a man not leſs eſtimable for his perſonal valour than for his integrity and piety, and it was determined that a new effort ſhould be made to place the colony in a ſtate of ſecurity and tranquillity.

M. de Denonville allowed himſelf ſcarcely a few hours of repoſe, after a voyage which had been long and boiſterous, before he aſcended to Catarocony. The Sieur de la Forêt had been there re-eſtabliſhed by order of the court, to command in the name of M. de la Sale; but having demanded permiſſion to make a new voyage to the Ilinois, where he expected to meet that gentleman, M. d'Orvilliers was again put in charge of that poſt. During the ſtay which the Governor-General made there, he learnt that the Iroquois were inſpired with great diſtruſt of the French, and he omitted nothing to regain their good opinion. He, however, ſaw that this nation had riſen to a tone of inſolence which it was neceſſary to reduce; and he informed the miniſter, that the hoſtilities which were continued againſt the Ilinois were a ſufficient ground of war; but before it ſhould be declared, every preparation ought to be made againſt an enemy who are always in a ſtate of warfare.

It was recommended to the Governor by the court, to endeavour gradually to promote among the ſavages, by every inducement, a ſimilarity of

of manners to thoſe of the French. But this project frequent experience had already proved to be impracticable. Even they who ſettled among the French adopted neither their manners nor their mode of government, and many Frenchmen who had much intercourſe with the natives, aſſumed their habits, and followed their erratic mode of life. 1685.

The knowledge which the Governor acquired of the affairs of Canada, to which he applied himſelf with much aſſiduity during the winter, confirmed him in the opinion that the Iroquois would never be reconciled to the French; and to avoid the evil of having always ſo artful and dangerous an enemy, it became a meaſure of political neceſſity, whatever it might coſt, either to extirpate them, or at leaſt to humiliate and enfeeble them ſo far, as to conſtrain them to ſeek and to maintain the alliance of the French. He was alſo convinced that there were no other means of ſupporting the commerce, which there was reaſon to foreſee would be reduced to nothing, if circumſtances were allowed to remain in the ſtate in which they then were; and that the Iroquois alone impeded the propagation of the Chriſtian religion among the natives.

To guard New France from an evil which was not remote, the Marquis Denonville propoſed to the miniſter that a ſtone fort, capable of con- 1686.

BOOK IV. 1686.

taining five hundred men, ſhould be conſtructed at Niagara. He repreſented that this poſt, thus guarded, would abſolutely exclude the Engliſh from the paſſage of the lakes, and would place the French in a ſituation to prevent the Iroquois from carrying furs to the former, much more than by the means of Fort Catarocony, and that barks might be kept there in the winter, ſheltered from the winds; that it would be eaſy to navigate with freedom on Lake Ontario, whoſe extremities would be commanded by the French; and the ſavages, whoſe country extends along that lake, would have no longer any outlet for the produce of the chace, but ſuch only as the French would chuſe to allow them; that beſides, as they could not hunt upon their own territories, where there were ſcarcely any wild animals, and not one beaver, their trade would be regulated at the diſcretion of the former. This would occaſion to the Engliſh a yearly loſs of four hundred thouſand francs, and as much profit to the French.

He added, that if it was intended that ſuccours ſhould be procured from the allies, during a war with the Iroquois, it was abſolutely neceſſary to poſſeſs a ſtation where they might aſſemble, and take refuge in caſe of defeat. In fine, it appeared no longer a doubt, that a fortreſs of ſuch a deſcription, at the very door of the

the Iroquois' territories, would impreſs them with awe and reſpect, and would ſtop a great number of French deſerters, who uſually went by that route to the Engliſh, and ſerved them afterwards as guides to reconnoitre the advanced poſts of the colony. BOOK IV 1686.

To defray the expences in conſtructing and maintaining this fort, he propoſed that an excluſive commerce to be carried on there, ſhould be formed by ſome reſpectable perſon. He repreſented that in time, this farm would produce to the King a conſiderable revenue, and that it would by no means be prejudicial to the inhabitants of New France, becauſe all the furs which would by this means form the trade of Niagara, then went to the Engliſh.

The company of merchants at Quebec, who traded to the north weſt, earneſtly wiſhed for ſuch an eſtabliſhment, and engaged, if it was erected, to furniſh the magazines of Niagara with all kinds of merchandize, which might be exchanged for furs; that they would take a leaſe of them for nine years, and pay to the King for this privilege a yearly rent of thirty thouſand livres.

The General received from the Governor of New York, a letter dated the 29th of May, importing that the great quantities of proviſion

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which were collected at Catarocony, had given the Iroquois reason to think that it was intended to declare war against them; that this people being subjects of the crown of England, to attack them would be a manifest infraction of the peace which subsisted between their two Sovereigns; that he had also learnt that it was designed to build a fort at Niagara, and that this intelligence had the more surprised him, because it ought not to be unknown in Canada, that *all that* country was a dependency of New York.

M. de Denonville replied, that the Iroquois dreaded a chastisement, because they were conscious of being culpable; that the provisions sent to Catarocony ought not to alarm him, as there being always a considerable garrison in that post, and the opportunities of transporting supplies not frequently occurring, it was necessary when they did occur, to transport large quantities; that England was not well grounded in her pretensions to the domain of the Iroquois' territories, and it ought to have been known that the French had possession of them before any Englishman appeared in New York; that the two Kings their masters, being then upon friendly terms, it became not either of their Lieutenant-Generals to interrupt the tranquillity which prevailed.

We

We ſhall here give a brief account of the manner in which the traffic for furs, already repeatedly mentioned in the courſe of this work, was at that time conducted at Montreal.

From twenty to thirty canoes laden with beaver furs, navigated by the *Coureurs de Bois*, arrived at that place from the great lakes. The contents of each were forty packets, each packet weighing fifty pounds, and being worth fifty half crowns at the office of the farmer. Theſe canoes were followed by fifty others of the Outaouais and Hurons, who annually deſcended to the colony, there to traffic on more advantageous terms than they could procure at Michilimakinac their native country, ſituated on the north weſt borders of lake Huron, and near the mouth of lake Michigan, or the lake of the Ilinois. They firſt encamped at a ſmall diſtance from Montreal. The day of their arrival was ſpent, as well in arranging their canoes, and diſembarking their furs, as in erecting their huts or tents, which were conſtructed with the bark of birch-trees. On the day following they ſent to demand an audience of the Governor-General, who uſually granted it without delay, in the market-place. Each nation there formed its own circle, and the ſavages being ſeated on the ground with each his pipe in his mouth, and the Governor placed in his chair, the orator of one

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of theſe nations expreſſed himſelf as follows, in the form of a harangue.

"That he and his brethren were come to viſit Ononthio, and to renew with him at the ſame time the terms of former amity; that the principal motive of their voyage was to render themſelves uſeful to the French, among whom they found there were ſome who poſſeſſed neither the means of traffic, nor ſufficient ſtrength of body to tranſport merchandize to the extremity of the lakes, and who could not therefore procure beaver furs, did not he and his brethren deſcend to trade in the French colonies; that they were well acquainted with the ſatisfaction which their arrival occaſioned to the inhabitants of Montreal, on account of the profits derived from them; that theſe furs being of high eſtimation in Europe, and on the contrary, the merchandize given in exchange for them but of little value, they were well inclined to evince to the French the deſire which they had to provide them with this object of commerce, which was ſo ardently purſued. That to have the means of ſupplying more another year, they meant to take in exchange fuſils, powder and lead, to enable them to procure furs in abundance, and to harraſs and annoy the Iroquois, ſhould that nation be diſpoſed to attack the French ſettlements; and, to give aſſurance of maintaining their engagement, they preſented

preſented a collar of porcelaine, and a quantity of beaver furs to *Kitchi Okima**, of whom they demanded protection leſt they ſhould be ill treated in the town." 1686.

Having ended his diſcourſe, the orator reſumed his place and his pipe, whilſt the interpreter explained to the Governor the ſubject-matter of the addreſs, who anſwered them in civil terms, more eſpecially if the gratuity was of value. He alſo in return made them a preſent of ſome trifling articles, after which the ſavages aroſe, and returned to their cabins to prepare for the barter of their furs.

On the following day each ſavage conveyed his furs to the merchants, who generally gave a better price than was demanded. All the inhabitants had free permiſſion to trade, and the only articles prohibited were wine and brandy, becauſe a great part of the ſavages having beaver remaining on hand, after having furniſhed themſelves with all the ſtores they required, drank to exceſs, and in a ſtate of intoxication murdered their ſlaves. They quarrelled, beat and mutilated each other, and would infallibly have deſtroyed a part of their countrymen, had they not been reſtrained by ſuch of their companions as deteſted that exceſs of inebriation.

* The great Captain, or Governor-General.

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None of them would accept of gold or ſilver. They went from ſhop to ſhop with the bow and arrows in their hands, and totally in a ſtate of nature. When they had concluded their traffic, they took leave of the Governor, and returned to their country by the great river of the Outaouais.

Canada ſubſiſted from the period of its original eſtabliſhment chiefly by the great commerce for furs, three-fourths of which were derived from people who inhabited the borders of the great lakes; but it was afterwards drawn from ſources far more remote.

With a view to regulate this commerce, which had for a conſiderable period been conducted by a number of diſorderly people ſubject to no regulations, and known by the appellation of *Coureurs de Bois*, a limited number of written licenſes from the Governor-General were by the King directed to be granted to poor gentlemen, and to old officers burdened with families, that they might excluſively convey merchandize to the lakes. The number was confined to twenty-five every year, although many more licenſes were granted. It was expreſsly prohibited on pain of death, to all perſons of whatever rank or condition, to go thither themſelves, or to employ any one on that ſervice, without theſe licenſes. Each licenſe allowed of two large canoes loaded with

with merchandiſe. They who were thus authoriſed could either act themſelves, or diſpoſe of their privilege to the higheſt bidder. The licenſes were uſually eſtimated to be worth ſix hundred crowns each, and they were generally purchaſed by the merchants. When they were once obtained, there was no difficulty in finding *Coureurs de Bois* to undertake the long voyages, which, if they wiſhed to gain a conſiderable profit, it was neceſſary to make. The merchants placed ſix men in the two canoes ſtipulated in each licenſe, together with the value of a thouſand crowns in merchandize ſuitable for the ſavages, rated and delivered to theſe *Coureurs de Bois* at fifteen per cent. more than the price at which it was ſold for ready money in the colony. This ſum of a thouſand crowns brought uſually, at a medium, on the return of the voyage, ſeven hundred per cent. of profit, as no ſcruple was made of impoſing on the inexperience of the ſavages. Thus theſe two canoes, which carried only a thouſand crowns in value, produced, after the barter took place, a ſufficient number of beaver ſkins to load four canoes. Theſe could carry one hundred and ſixty packets of beaver ſkins, with forty in each, which were worth fifty crowns, making in all, at the concluſion of the voyage, the ſum of eight thouſand crowns, which was generally diſtributed in the manner following.

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ing. The merchant received in beaver the payment of the licenſe, which was ſix hundred crowns, and that of the merchandize a thouſand crowns. Upon the ſix thouſand four hundred of ſurplus, they took forty per cent. on the money advanced for the adventure, which made two thouſand five hundred and ſixty crowns. The reſidue was divided among the *Coureurs de Bois*, who certainly well earned the ſix hundred crowns, or nearly, which remained to each for the inconceivable toils he had undergone. Beſides the immenſe profits already mentioned, the merchant derived twenty-five per cent. on theſe beaver ſkins, upon carrying them to the office of the farmer general, where the prices of four qualities of that article were regulated.

Having thus far noticed the commercial affairs of Canada, we ſhall advert to thoſe of the eccleſiaſtics and of the law. A few years before the period at which we have now arrived, another mode than that which has been already mentioned was taken to ſatisfy the clergy, to whom the laſt arrangements of the council with reſpect to them did not appear ſufficiently ample. The Governor and the Biſhop wiſhed to regulate the competent proportion payable to five hundred livres for each pariſh; but the King, in a letter addreſſed to the former, intimated that it was his opinion the plan which had been formed for the diſtribution

diſtribution of the curés, and for their ſubſiſtence, was prejudicial to the intereſts of the colony, where the greater proportion of the inhabitants were poor. That in France, the moſt conſiderable benefices exceeded not a hundred crowns, and that there was a very great number of curés who had no more than a hundred and fifty livres, and who nevertheleſs lived with decency, and performed all their functions; and what ſtill more ſurpriſed him, with regard to this point, was, that the Biſhop ſhould have perſuaded the prieſts that they could not ſubſiſt on leſs than five hundred livres; on this account it would be difficult to retrench their allowances. It was further his pleaſure that ſuch as had four hundred livres ſhould be allowed no more than that ſum.

The clergy were diſſatisfied that the tithes ſhould be rated ſo low, and made ſeveral attempts to get them reſtored to a thirteenth part of the produce; but the ſuperior council of Quebec uniformly oppoſed them, and as at length they appealed to the council of the King, this appeal produced a decree which effectually put a ſtop to their pretenſions on that point. On the other hand, beſides the ſum of ſeven thouſand ſix hundred livres, which the King had aſſigned as a ſupplement to the tithes, his Majeſty granted one thouſand ſeven hundred livres for thoſe whom

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whom their great age or infirmities permitted not to ſerve their curacies, and by a decree, it was regulated that this ſum ſhould be divided into five portions of three hundred livres each, and one of two hundred livres.

The ſurplus of the ſum of ſeven thouſand ſix hundred livres, which ſhould remain after its application towards the increaſe of the benefices of the clergy, was appropriated for building pariſh churches, the patronage of which was veſted in the biſhop, to the excluſion of the ſeignors, who had hitherto enjoyed it; and it was ordained by the ſame decree which regulated this change, that all churches ſhould be built of ſtone. The chapter of the cathedral was compoſed of a dean, a chief ſinger, an archdeacon, a prebendary, and twelve canons. The King reſerved to himſelf the nomination of the two firſt dignitaries, the biſhop nominated to all the reſt.

The functions of firſt preſident, which had been allotted to the Intendant, gave great umbrage to the Governor-General; he made repreſentations to which no attention was paid, and it was enjoined by a decree of the council, that in all the acts, and in the minutes of the colonial council, the Governor and the intendant ſhould aſſume no other quality but ſuch as immediately belonged to their office. Several years afterwards four new counſellors, a clerk, and three temporal

temporal counſellors were created, and the number was eſtabliſhed at twelve members, including the biſhop. One was called ſenior counſellor, whoſe appointments were doubled. They were nominated by the court, and their ſituation was merely honorary, without any particular functions. The Procureur-General and the Regiſter in Chief were allowed ſalaries, which were extremely moderate.

The council was regularly held at the Intendant's palace every Monday, and when it was neceſſary to aſſemble an extraordinary council, the Intendant appointed the day and hour of meeting. Juſtice was there adminiſtered according to the ordinances of the kingdom, and the *coutume de Paris*. Some regulations were made for this council by an edict of the King, which was termed in the province, *the reduction of the code*. There afterwards aroſe ſome difficulties with reſpect to judgment in cauſes of recuſation, which were likewiſe explained by an edict, when it was declared, that, in procedings where officers of the council might be intereſted, the cauſe ſhould be referred, at the requeſt of one of the parties, to the Intendant, who, with the judges, whom he ſhould aſſemble for that purpoſe, ſhould pronounce a deciſion. The council was alſo authoriſed to decide on criminal cauſes brought before five or more of its members.

There

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There were beſides in the colony three ſubordinate juriſdictions; thoſe of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. They were compoſed of a Lieutenant-General, a Lieutenant, and King's Advocate.

A ſpirit of litigation, or of reſorting to the courts of law in differences which aroſe reſpecting property, began to diffuſe itſelf in Canada. A practice ſo hoſtile to the proſperity of the ſettlement, was however diſcountenanced by the Governor, who exerted his authority to procure the amicable ſettlement of diſputes, with ſuch ſucceſs, that the mode of deciſion by arbitration prevailed for a conſiderable period, and the lawyers as well as officers of juſtice, deprived of the means of ſubſiſting by their profeſſion, laid their grievances before the court. The appointment of the members of the courts of law was therefore regulated by a declaration of the King. The notaries, uſhers, and ſerjeants, had alſo wages.

The adminiſtration of juſtice at Montreal belonged to the members of the ſeminary of Saint Sulpicius, in quality of Seignors of the iſland. They gave in their reſignation to the King on condition that the exerciſe of that power, within the precincts of the ſeminary, and of their farm of Saint Gabriel, ſhould ſtill remain with them, together with the perpetual and incommunicable privilege of the regiſter of royal juſtice, which ſhould

ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the iſland, and the nomination of the firſt judge. Theſe terms were confirmed to them by an edict for the creation of the new ſyſtem of juſtice, but the laſt article was allowed them for once only. Such were the attentions of the Sovereign to procure for his ſubjects of New France a diſtribution of juſtice no leſs prompt than acceſſible; and it was on the model of the ſuperior council of Quebec that thoſe of Martinique, Saint Domingo, and Louiſiana, were afterwards eſtabliſhed. 1686.

The Governor-General received an order from the court, which would have been more efficacious in obviating all the inconveniencies, which he wiſhed to avoid, and in obliging the Iroquois to remain in tranquillity, than the moſt ſucceſsful expedition, had both European nations on the continent of America been equally ſolicitous to avail themſelves of the advantage. This was a treaty of neutrality between the Engliſh and French ſubjects in America, notwithſtanding any rupture that might take place between their Sovereigns, and the ſtipulations were arranged and the treaty finally concluded in London, by M. de Barrillon, the French ambaſſador, on the part of his Sovereign, and the Secretary of State for the home department on the part of the King of Great Britain. 1687.

The

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1687. The General having, it appears, received all the ſupplies and reinforcements which he had at that time expected from France, marched in the ſummer towards lake Ontario, with two thouſand Frenchmen and ſix hundred ſavages. But the declaration of war was preceded by a meaſure which cannot be juſtified by any rule of policy. The King, as has already been mentioned, had intimated to M. de la Barre his deſire to have ſome of the Iroquois for the purpoſe of manning his gallies. M. de Denonville might have foreſeen and repreſented the unhappy conſequences, which an obedience to that order, would inevitably produce; much leſs ought he to have executed it in a manner which certainly never was preſcribed to him. The moſt rigid interpretation of that order could be extended only to priſoners captured in war. The General, however, conceived himſelf juſtifiable in uſing every poſſible effort to weaken and intimidate barbarians, whoſe perfidy, ſanguinary cruelty, and whole tenor of conduct, rendered them unworthy of being treated according to the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of warfare. On this principle, reflecting not that he owed to his own character that regard for juſtice, which he might conceive he owed not to the Iroquois, before any declaration of war, he aſſembled at Catarocony,

under various pretences, ſeveral of their principal chiefs, immediately put them in chains, and ſent them to Quebec under a ſtrong eſcort, with an order for the Commandant to embark them in veſſels for France, that they might be conducted to the gallies. 1687.

In order to draw the Iroquois into this ſnare, the General employed two miſſionaries, who had reſided for ſome time in their country, and had gained an influence with ſeveral of their chiefs. The one fell into the hands of the Onneyouths, by whom he was condemned to the flames, but was ſaved at the moment of execution by a matron who adopted him: the other owed his ſafety and his liberty to the great eſteem and ſincere attachment in which he was held by the Onnontagués. On the firſt accounts which were received of the event which had taken place at Catarocony the ancients aſſembled, and called the miſſionary, whoſe name was Lamberville, before them; after having expoſed the fact with all the energy of which the movements of indignation, conceived to be juſt, are capable, when he expected to undergo the moſt terrible effects of the fury which he ſaw painted in their countenances, one of the ancients addreſſed him in the following words:

"There can be no queſtion that we are now in every reſpect authoriſed to treat thee as an enemy, but we cannot reſolve to do it. We

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know thee too well not to be perſuaded that thy heart had no ſhare in this treaſon, of which thou haſt in ſome degree been the cauſe; and we are not ſo unjuſt as to puniſh thee for a crime of which we believe thee innocent, which thou abhorreſt equally with us; and we are convinced thou feeleſt the pangs of deep diſtreſs for having been made its inſtrument. It is however improper that thou ſhouldſt remain among us; every one will perhaps not manifeſt towards thee that clemency which we now ſhew, and when once our youth have ſung the ſong of war, they will no longer view thee but as a traitor, who hath delivered our chiefs into a rude and unworthy ſtate of bondage; and they will give a looſe to the dictates of revenge, from whoſe fury we ſhall be unable to protect thee."

They obliged him to depart immediately, gave him guides to conduct him through unfrequented paths, and who were enjoined not to leave him until he was out of all danger. The chief Garakarthié, was, doubtleſs, the author of a line of conduct at once ſo generous and noble. This ſavage was ſincerely attached to father Lamberville, and the tenderneſs and friendſhip which that miſſionary ever afterwards cheriſhed for him, gave reaſon to conclude that he conſidered him as his deliverer.

Every

1687.

Every thing was in readineſs to begin the war, when M. de Dénonville declared himſelf in the manner which will hereafter appear. His meaſures were well taken, and if the ſucceſs of his expedition anſwered not entirely his expectations, it was more his misfortune than his fault.

The French were for a time encamped on the ſmall iſland of St. Helen, oppoſite to Montreal, and M. de Champigni Noroi, who the preceding year had ſucceeded M. de Meules in the intendance of New France, joined them there with the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, who had arrived a little time before in the quality of commandant of the troops. All being in readineſs, on the 11th of June the army began their voyage, in two hundred batteaux and as many birch canoes. It was compoſed of eight hundred and thirty-two regular ſoldiers, a thouſand Canadians, and three hundred ſavages.

The perfect harmony which prevailed between the Governor-General and the new intendant, which was founded on a zeal for the King's ſervice, had diffuſed the ſame concord through the troops. On their arrival at Catarocony they halted a ſhort time. M. Durantays, who commanded at Michilimakinac, joined M. M. du Luth and Tonti at the entrance of the Détroit, and accompanied them to Niagara. They had ſcarcely arrived at that place, when the Sieur de

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la Forêt brought them an order from the Governor-General to rendezvous on the 10th of July at the river *des Sables*, to the eaſtward of the bay of the Tſonnonthouans, on the ſide of Catarocony. M. de Dénonville marched thither himſelf with his army, and by a chance, from which the ſavages failed not to draw a fortunate preſage, the whole entered it at the ſame time. They immediately began to conſtruct, a little above the river, a retrenchment of palliſades for depoſiting the ſtores. It was finiſhed in two days, and M. d'Orvilliers was left there with four hundred men, as a guard, and for the protection of the rear of the army.

From the fort *des Sables* the army took its march by land; on the 13th, after having paſſed two dangerous defiles, and on their arrival at a third, they were vigorouſly attacked by eight hundred of the Iroquois. Two hundred of theſe ſavages, after a diſcharge of their pieces, turned away to take the army in the rear, whilſt the reſt ſhould continue to engage the van. They were not more diſtant than a muſquet ſhot from the firſt village of the Tſonnonthouans, from whence it was apprehended that reinforcements might iſſue; the fear of this, joined to a ſurpriſe in a dangerous ſituation, occaſioned ſome diſorder. Many of the allied ſavages, more accuſtomed than the French to engagements in the woods, ſtood

ſtood with firmneſs, and afforded the troops time to rally. The enemy was then preſſed on every quarter, and ſeeing their inferiority, diſbanded, to betake themſelves more eaſily to flight.

The French in this action had five or ſix men killed, and about twenty wounded. The Iroquois had forty-five men killed, and ſixty wounded. The bodies of the firſt were torn in pieces, and eaten by the Outaouais, who made war upon the dead better than on the living.

The Hurons, the Iroquois Chriſtians of the rapids of St. Louis, and of the mountain of Montreal, conducted themſelves with much bravery.

At one of the four great villages which compoſed the canton of the Tſonnonthouans, about eight leagues from the fort *des Sables*, the army encamped. It was found totally deſerted, and was afterwards burnt. After a march of ten days in the woods, the army met with none of the enemy. They burnt in their progreſs four hundred thouſand buſhels of corn, and deſtroyed an immenſe number of hogs. The General, fearing leſt the ſavages who accompanied his march would diſband themſelves, which they more than once threatened, was neceſſitated to limit his enterpriſe.

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M. de Dénonville had ever much at heart the conſtruction of a fort at Niagara, and the opportunity which now preſented itſelf for executing this deſign was too favourable not to be embraced. The fort was finiſhed, and the Chevalier de la Troye was left there with a hundred men for its protection. Unfortunately, however, a malady was ſoon introduced into the garriſon which cut off nearly the whole, and this important poſt was abandoned and deſtroyed.

Before the eſtabliſhment of this poſt, a reſolution ſhould have been taken to maintain it, notwithſtanding the loſſes and difficulties that might occur. From the want of having provided reſources ſufficient for this purpoſe, the French expoſed themſelves to the contempt of the ſavages. The diſeaſe which cauſed the loſs of the troops, and of the officer who commanded them, originated not only from the bad ſtate of their proviſions, but from the inceſſant fatigue which they underwent from being haraſſed by the enemy. They were kept blockaded in ſuch a manner that they could not procure the ſmalleſt refreſhment either from the chace or from fiſhing, although the country abounded with animals and birds, and the river with excellent fiſh.

On the 13th of November the fort of Chambly was ſuddenly attacked by a large party of Agniers and

and Mahingans. The reſiſtance which they found obliged them to decamp the following day, but not before they had burnt ſome houſes in the neighbourhood, and carried off ſeveral priſoners. The bad ſucceſs of this expedition, and the advice which the Governor of New York received, that it was known to the French he had been concerned in it, made him afraid of a repriſal. The alarm became ſo great at Orange, that the inhabitants of the country ſent to that garriſon every thing they had which was of value, and a body of twelve hundred ſavages paſſed the winter in the neighbourhood, to cover the town from an attack.

1687.

There happened, towards the end of ſummer, a great mortality in Canada; and it was chiefly this which prevented the Governor from executing a project he had formed of a ſecond expedition againſt the Tſonnonthouans. There was, however, another reaſon: he could not depend upon the ſavages of the weſtern territories, particularly on the Hurons of Michilimakinac; for it was diſcovered that the latter entertained a ſecret correſpondence with the Iroquois, even before the laſt campaign, although they had acquitted themſelves with credit in the action.

The orders which the General at this time received from the court, not to give the Engliſh any ſubject of complaint, were to him a ſource

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of much embarraſſment. It was doubtleſs ſuppoſed that each party had been equally guarded in its conduct. In governments remote from the parent ſtate, circumſtances often occur which may render it impracticable to comply with particular inſtructions. The will of the Sovereign may in ſome caſes be anticipated, particularly where the general intereſts are concerned. It cannot therefore be deemed diſobedience to adopt meaſures which the Sovereign himſelf would probably recommend, were he acquainted with the ſituation of events. An unqualified deference ought not therefore to be exacted from thoſe who are entruſted with diſtant commands: a certain diſcretionary power applicable to local circumſtances is uſually implied, that the general intereſts of the ſtate and the honour of the Sovereign may be reconcileable with the inſtructions which have been given.

1687.

1688. The Iroquois ſent deputies, accompanied by five hundred warriors, under pretence of an eſcort, to treat with M. de Dénonville. When they had arrived at Catarocony, one of the deputies went with ſix men into the fort, and demanded of the commandant one of his officers to accompany them to Montreal. M. d'Orvilliers allowed him the Sieur la Parelle, his lieutenant, who, having embarked in the canoe with the ſavages, was preſently ſurpriſed to find himſelf in the midſt

midſt of five hundred warriors well armed, and was received by them in a manner that gave him reaſon to apprehend himſelf a priſoner. They conducted him to lake St. Francis, where they met another body of Iroquois, equally numerous with the firſt. Both remained at this place, and allowed La Parelle to continue his rout to Montreal with the deputies only. The Governor-General there gave them an audience immediately. The Iroquois orator there expoſed, in terms highly emphatical, the advantageous ſituation which his nation enjoyed, the weakneſs of the French, and the facility with which the cantons could exterminate them, or oblige them to abandon Canada.

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"For myſelf," added he, "I have always eſteemed them, and I come to give them of this no equivocal proof; for, having learnt the deſign which our warriors had formed of burning your forts, your houſes, your barns, and your grain, to the end, that after having reduced you to a ſtate of famine, they might make their own terms with you, I made uſe of all my influence in your favour, and I have obtained permiſſion to acquaint Ononthio, that he may avoid this evil by accepting of peace, on the conditions propoſed by the Governor of New York. No more than four days will be allowed for your final determination, and if you make a longer

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longer delay, I cannot explain what may be the event."

A diſcourſe ſo haughty, and a body of twelve hundred Iroquois at lake St. Francis, from whence they could in leſs than two days fall upon the iſland of Montreal, filled every mind with awful apprehenſion. From the river Sorel to La Prairie de la Magdelene, the inhabitants could not leave their houſes, without the riſque of falling among a party of the enemy. The fort of Catarocony was invaded by eight hundred Iroquois, who had burnt all the hay with flaming arrows, and killed all the cattle. Lake Ontario was likewiſe covered with canoes of the enemy, who to the number of four hundred, attacked a barque carrying men and proviſions. The chief who commanded the blockade of Catarocony was uncle to a ſavage priſoner whom the Governor had ſent to Onnontagué. This captain was ſenſible of the liberty which had been given to his nephew, and his gratitude for this act carried him ſo far as to withdraw his troops. Thus the fort was delivered at a moment when it was conceived impoſſible to ſave the place. On the eighth of June, deputies from the Onnontagués, the Oneyouths, and Goyogouins arrived at Montreal, and demanded peace in the name of the whole nation. The General replied, that he would

conſent

conſent to peace, upon condition that all his allies ſhould be comprehended in it; that the other two cantons ſhould alſo ſend deputies for the ſame end; that hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe in every quarter, and that he ſhould be at full liberty to victual the fort at Catarocony.

The conditions were accepted, and the exchange of priſoners was regulated without any difficulty. M. de Dénonville thereupon wrote to the miniſter, to ſolicit, that the Iroquois who were carried to France, and employed in the gallies at Marſeilles, ſhould be ſent back to Canada.

A ceſſation of hoſtilities immediately took place, the Iroquois conſented to leave five hoſtages to inſure the ſafety of the convoy to Catarocony, and it was agreed that if any ſkirmiſhes with the allies ſhould happen during the negociation, no change ſhould be thereby made on the conditions already ſtipulated.

Of all the French allies, the only people whom the enemy feared, or deſpaired to gain over, were the Abénaquis, who on their part, declined being included in any truce, or treaty of peace. At the time when the Governor was buſied in the pacification for Canada they took the field, and having advanced to the river Sorel, ſurpriſed ſome Iroquois and Mahingans, part of whom they killed. They then puſhed on to the Engliſh ſettlements,

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ſettlements, deſtroyed ſome of the inhabitants, and brought away their ſcalps. The Iroquois of the rapids of St. Louis, and of the mountain, were, on their ſide, occupied in a ſimilar manner; but they who took meaſures more juſtifiable, to render abortive the concluſion of a treaty, of which they feared to become the firſt victims, were the Hurons of Michilimakinac, who were frequently and juſtly ſuſpected of a colluſion with the Engliſh and Iroquois.

Kondiaronk, or the Rat, chief of war and ſenior in council among the Hurons, aged forty years, finding himſelf preſſed and ſolicited by M. de Dénonville to enter into an alliance with him, at laſt conſented, upon condition that the war ſhould not terminate, but by the total deſtruction of the Iroquois nations. Relying on theſe engagements, the Rat departed from Michilimakinac at the head of a hundred warriors, to invade the country of the Iroquois, with the intention of performing ſome brilliant exploit. In the mean while, as it was neceſſary in this conjuncture of affairs to act with caution and prudence, he judged it proper firſt to go to Fort Frontenac or Catarocony. When he arrived at that place, he was informed by the Commandant, that M. de Dénonville was endeavouring to make peace with the five nations, whoſe ambaſſadors he expected, with hoſtages to be conducted to Montreal;

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Montreal; that the treaty, which had already been nearly arranged, might be finally concluded. He likewiſe told the Rat, that, in conſequence thereof, it was expedient he ſhould return to Michilimakinac with all his warriors. This ſavage, aſtoniſhed at news ſo little expected, and ſo prejudicial to him and to all his nation, and foreſeeing that he ſhould be ſacrificed to the intereſts of the French, replied to the Commandant, with an air of indifference, that his requeſt was reaſonable. Far, however, from purſuing the counſel which had been given him, he went to meet the ambaſſadors and hoſtages of the Iroquois at the caſcades of St. Lawrence, about thirty miles above the iſland of Montreal. There he remained for five or ſix days, when theſe unfortunate deputies, accompanied by forty young men, arrived, and were killed or captured in diſembarking from their canoes. When the captives were bound, this politic ſavage informed them that the French Governor, having adviſed him to reſort thither, to watch for a party of warriors who ſhould paſs by the way of the caſcades, he had occupied that poſition. The Iroquois, ſhocked at the perfidy of which they ſuppoſed M. de Dénonville had been guilty, related to the Rat, the object of their miſſion. The Huron, aſſuming then an air of terrible ferocity, began,

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began, in order the better to play his part, to declaim againſt the conduct of M. de Dénonville, aſſerting that ſooner or later he would avenge himſelf for having been made the inſtrument, in effecting the moſt horrible treaſon that ever was committed; and, looking with fixed attention on all the priſoners, among whom was the principal ambaſſador Theganeſorens, he ſaid, "Go, my brethren, I releaſe you, and reſtore you to your country, although we are at war with you. The Governor of the French has cauſed me to commit an action of ſuch turpitude, that I ſhall never hereafter, on that account, enjoy repoſe of mind, unleſs the five nations exerciſe a juſt and ſuitable degree of revenge." Nothing more was neceſſary to perſuade theſe Iroquois of the ſincerity of the Rat, and they immediately aſſured him, that, if he would conſent to enter on terms of peace, they ſhould be ratified by the five nations. The Rat, who on this occaſion loſt only one man, retained, in order to replace him, a ſlave of the Chaouanon nation, who had been adopted by the Iroquois, and having given fuſils, powder, and ball, to the priſoners, to enable them to return to their villages, he took the rout for Michilimakinac, where he preſented to the French Commandant the ſlave whom he brought with him. He was no ſooner delivered over than he was condemned

condemned to be ſhot, becauſe it was not yet known there that M. de Dénonville was about to make peace with the Iroquois. 1688.

In vain did this unhappy ſlave recount his own adventure and that of the ambaſſadors. It was imagined that the terror of death made him ſpeak, whilſt the Rat and his warriors affirmed that he raved. Thus was this unhappy wretch ſacrificed, notwithſtanding all the reaſons which he urged in his defence.

On the ſame day, the Rat, calling to him an old Iroquois ſlave who had a long time ſerved him, ſaid that he was now reſolved to give him his freedom, and to ſend him back to his country, to paſs the remainder of his days among the people of his nation, and, being an ocular witneſs of the treatment which the French had ſhewn towards his countryman by adoption, whom they ſhot, notwithſtanding all he could ſay to the Commandant in his juſtification, he ought not to fail in repreſenting to them an action ſo barbarous and unjuſt; and that whilſt the French were amuſing the cantons with pretended negociations, they cauſed their people to be captured and put to death. The ſlave acquitted himſelf ſo punctually of his commiſſion, that although the Iroquois appeared to be undeceived with reſpect to the bad faith of the Governor-

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vernor-General, it will hereafter be ſhown, that they either diſſembled, or that a great number of the nation was well inclined to ſeize ſo plauſible a pretext for re-commencing the war.

It may well be imagined, from the ſituation in which the affairs of New France had long been, that the commerce could be by no means flouriſhing. For upwards of nine years that it had been declared free, the colony had conſiderably increaſed, and by a capitation taken this year, its population amounted to eleven thouſand two hundred and forty-nine perſons. The Engliſh participated with the French in the commerce of furs, which was the principal cauſe of the wars in which the latter were ſo frequently engaged againſt the Iroquois, becauſe the former could not procure furs of the moſt valuable quality which are drawn from the quarters of the north, but by means of theſe ſavages, with whom the French would not be reconciled, without cutting off from them that profitable ſource.

The eſtabliſhment of a fiſhery was attempted this year in the vicinity of the river Matane, which empties itſelf into the Saint Lawrence, and whoſe mouth was found capable of receiving ſhips of two hundred tons. All the ſouth coaſt of this part of the St. Lawrence, for the ſpace of

twentyleagues, abounds in cod fiſh, though inferior in ſize and quality to thoſe caught on the banks of Newfoundland. Great quantities of whales and porpuſſes alſo frequent this immenſe river, and from theſe as well as from the ſalmon fiſheries very conſiderable profits were afterwards derived. 1688.

In the end of May M. de Denonville received orders to return to Europe, to be employed in the army of the King of France, there being an immediate proſpect of a rupture on that continent. At the ſame time the Count de Frontenac, who had before governed New France, was declared his ſucceſſor. 1689.

The Marquis de Denonville entertained a ſincere wiſh to promote the welfare of the colony, and an ardent zeal for the intereſts of the ſervice of his Sovereign. He omitted nothing in his power that could contribute to the one or to the other. His ideas for the improvement of Canada were extenſive and well founded. During his adminiſtration perfect concord exiſted between all who participated in the government, a circumſtance which had never taken place before, although eſſential to the tranquillity of the inhabitants, and to the public good.

He was however at times deficient in activity and vigour. He took not much pains to inveſtigate the character of thoſe who approached

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him, and ſometimes abandoned plans, the execution of which he had begun. His confidence was frequently abuſed by thoſe whom he conſulted, who had no other object in view but their particular intereſts. Of unſuſpecting integrity, he relied too much on the opinions of thoſe who ſurrounded him, and reflected not that intereſt, ambition, and avarice, paſſions too powerful to ſubmit to the reſtraint of conſcience or of honour, uniformly endeavour to aſſume the maſk of virtue.

BOOK V.

Irruption and Devaſtation by the Iroquois, in the Iſland of Montreal.—Return of the Count de Frontenac to Canada.—Conference of Iroquois Deputies at Quebec.—Attack and Pillage of Corlar.—Of Sementels.—Of Kaſkebé.—Convoy for Michilimakinac attacked by a Party of the Iroquois.—Arrives in Safety at its Deſtination.—Cauſes a Change in the Diſpoſition of the French Allies.—Deſcent of the Iroquois on the Vicinity of the Iſland of Montreal.—Sir William Phipps ſails from Boſton with an Armament for the Reduction of Quebec.—Attempt on that Place.—Failure.—Return of the Engliſh Fleet.—Iroquois attack the Fort of La Prairie de la Magdelaine.—Obſtinate Courage and Reſolution of thoſe Savages.—Mantel's Expedition againſt their Nation.

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THE ſtate of weakneſs to which New France had now fallen, and a project which had been concerted at Paris for the reduction of New York, required that the perſon who ſhould be placed in the direction of affairs in Canada, ſhould poſſeſs commanding manners, firmneſs of character, experience in the mode of carrying on war, knowledge of the country, and of the habitudes and diſpoſition of the ſavages. Thoſe

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qualities were combined in the Count de Frontenac, and there was reaſon to hope that, with the genius which he poſſeſſed, he would profit from his former errors, and the unhappineſs which they cauſed him, ſo far as to moderate his paſſions, and to conduct himſelf upon other principles than the ſuggeſtions of his prejudices or diſlikes.

The Count de Frontenac and the Chevalier de Callieres arrived at Quebec on the 12th of October, and at Montreal on the 27th. They there found M. M. de Denonville and Champigny in a ſtate of much embarraſſment.

The Iroquois made an incurſion into the colony when M. de Denonville expected not ſuch a viſit, having had the precaution to ſignify to that people that he ſo greatly diſapproved of the treaſon of the Rat, that he would order him to be hanged, ſhould he fall into his hands. He therefore every day awaited the arrival of ten or twelve deputies to conclude terms of peace. After the lapſe of a ſhort time they indeed arrived, but in a much greater number, and with a deſign different from that of which the General had conceived the hope. They diſembarked at the end of the iſland to the number of twelve hundred warriors, who burnt and pillaged all the habitations. They made a horrid maſſacre of men, women, and children: the conſternation became

became general; for theſe barbarians had approached within three leagues of the town. They blockaded two forts, after having burnt the ſurrounding houſes. A detachment of one hundred ſoldiers and fifty ſavages who had been ſent after them, were nearly all taken or cut in pieces.

The Iroquois ſpread deſolation over almoſt the whole iſland, and loſt only three of their people, one of whom was brought priſoner to the town, and declared to the Governor, that the political ſtroke of the Rat was irreparable, the Iroquois nations being ſo deeply impreſſed with the atrocity of this outrage, that it would be impoſſible ſoon to bring them to reaſon; and that, ſo far from condemning the conduct of this Huron, they were ready to enter into a treaty with him, becauſe he had effected with his party no more than what a good warrior and a ſteady ally ought to have atchieved.

No ſooner had the barbarians completed, as far as they thought prudent, their work of deſtruction and ſlaughter, than they embarked for their native country, charged with the plunder they had made, and with two hundred priſoners, finding no oppoſition to their retreat. This diſaſtrous incurſion filled the minds of the inhabitants with aſtoniſhment, and afforded ample matter for reflection.

BOOK V.

1689. The forts of Niagara and Catarocony were in conſequence abandoned and blown up, and two veſſels built for the purpoſe of navigating lake Ontario were burnt.

This year was however not equally unfortunate for every part of Canada. Whilſt the Iroquois carried their ravages into the centre of the colony, M. d'Iberville and his brothers ſupported in the north the honour of the French, and the Abinaquis avenged, at the expence of the Engliſh, all the miſchief which had been done by their allies.

M. de Siegnelay informed the Count de Frontenac and M. de Champigny, that the great efforts which the King was neceſſitated to make in oppoſition to all the European powers united againſt France, would not permit him to ſend to America the reinforcements which had been demanded, nor to entertain for the preſent the thoughts of an enterpriſe in that quarter; and that a vigilant defence appeared to him more advantageous for his ſervice, and for the ſafety of the colony. That it was, above all, neceſſary to re-unite the inhabitants in villages, in order to protect them againſt the ſavages; and, in fine, that the General might uſe with effect, in order to conclude a ſolid and honourable peace, the credit which he had acquired among the Iroquois,

quois, and the conciliatory circumſtance of reſtoring them their countrymen who had returned from France. BOOK V. 1689.

Whilſt in Canada, the government could not comprehend why the court ſhould find any difficulty in making an effort againſt the Engliſh; the council of the King were equally ſurpriſed, that the inhabitants of New France ſhould refuſe to change their place of habitation, and purſue in their arrangement a ſyſtem which was conceived not to be attended with much inconvenience, and which was abſolutely connected with their preſervation. The one ſaw nothing more important for the ſervice, than to deliver the colony from troubleſome neighbours; the other judging of Canada by the provinces of the kingdom, could not conceive that there could be any obſtacle to the changes propoſed. Thus events only that more immediately intereſt, appear neceſſary, and that which is practiſed and eſtabliſhed in one ſituation, appears to be every where practicable. It is however certain, that what was exacted from the inhabitants of Canada was much leſs eaſy to be put in execution, than it appeared to the miniſter by whom it was required.

The Count de Frontenac entertained no doubtful expectation that he ſhould be able to conciliate the reſpect of the Iroquois. His hope was

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chiefly founded on the marks of eſteem for his perſon which had been manifeſted by that people during his former reſidence in Canada; and he ſuppoſed, that in making a voyage up the country together with a great number of their chiefs, whoſe chains he had broken, he would regain their former ſentiments of reſpect. He was at leaſt aſſured of having engaged in his intereſt a brave Goyogouin captain named Oureouharé, the moſt accredited of all thoſe whom he had led back from France, and to whom he had paid great attention during the voyage. He conducted him to Montreal, where, having found an Iroquois ambaſſador called Gagniogatow, who had made ſome inſolent propoſitions to M. de Denonville, Oureouharé adviſed him to ſend back with him four of the companions of his chains, to announce to the cantons the return of their chiefs.

The Count followed this counſel. Oureouharé recommended it to theſe deputies to neglect nothing which could engage the cantons to ſend an embaſſy to their ancient father, in repreſenting to them that they could not diſpenſe with ſending to felicitate him on his happy return, and to thank him for the kindneſs which he had ſhewn to their brethren. He charged them further to aſſure the nations, that they would experience from this General much tenderneſs and eſteem;

eſteem; and to declare particularly to his own canton, that he would not return home if they came not to aſk him back from Ononthio, whom he was reſolved not to leave without his full conſent. 1639.

The deputies acquitted themſelves perfectly well of their commiſſion. On their arrival, the cantons aſſembled, deliberated on their anſwer, and ſent it by the ſame ambaſſadors, who arrived at Montreal on the ſixth of March. They found there neither M. de Frontenac, nor Oureouharé, who had returned to Quebec. The deputies were therefore ſent to that place. They were charged with ſix belts of porcelain; the firſt marked the ſubject of their delay, cauſed by the arrival of the Outaouais during winter; the ſecond collar teſtified the joy of the five nations, and of the Dutch their allies, to learn the return of Oreouharé, whom they called General of all the Iroquois. The third collar ſuggeſted what was to be ſaid by Onontaé in the names of the five cantons, demanding the immediate return of Oreouharé, and that he ſhould be accompanied by all the Iroquois who were priſoners among the French, proteſting at the ſame time that they would not give up any of the French who were in their hands, until Oreouharé ſhould return and give orders for their diſpoſal. The fourth 1640.

and

BOOK V. 1690.

and fifth were addreſſed to Ononthio in the following words:

"You ſay that you wiſh to eſtabliſh the tree of peace which you had planted in your fort of Frontenac, but are you ignorant that the roots of that tree are withered by the blood which has there been ſpilt? The places where the council was held are yet crimſoned with blood. That ground, where we were ſeized as priſoners, while inveſted with pacific miſſions, and placing confidence in the honour of your nation, is polluted by treachery and falſehood. The territory of the Tſonnonthouans, the largeſt of our villages, is deſolated by the ravages of the French. Atone for all thoſe evils, and you ſhall be at liberty to plant the tree of peace any where but in that ſituation.

"You have with ſeverity chaſtiſed your children; your rods of correction have been too heavy, and too cutting. After this treatment, judge if I ought ſtill to have ſpirit? I aſſure you, my father, that I, Onontaé, am maſter of all the French priſoners. Make ſmooth the path from Galette, or from Chambly. Teganiſſorens, your favourite chief of our nation, ſhall there come to meet you: you may be accompanied thither by as many attendants as you pleaſe, and I ſhall lead with me an equal number."

The

1690.

The ſixth collar intimated, that there was a party of Iroquois in the country, and to aſſure the French, that if they made any priſoners they ſhould be well treated, and praying, that if any of the Iroquois were captured, they might be preſerved; adding alſo reproaches to the conduct of the French for having killed twelve of their nation, for which, at the ſame time, they candidly owned that they had eaten ſome Frenchmen.

As ſoon as the navigation of the rivers was open, the General acquainted the deputies that they might return, and Oureouharé put into their hands eight belts, which explained to them that the Count de Frontenac would enter into no treaty that ſhould not be reſpected.

The belts implied, that Oureouharé wiſhed the cantons to wipe away their tears, and to forget what was paſſed; that he learnt with pleaſure a promiſe which the Outaouais had given, to reſtore to the Tſonnonthouans all the priſoners they had made from that canton: that he was ſtill more gratified with the reſolution which his brethren had taken, to ſave the lives of the French who had fallen into their hands, and that Ononthio had promiſed to act in the ſame manner, until he received from the five cantons an anſwer to the conditions he had offered: that with reſpect to his own ſituation, he thanked

BOOK V. 1690.

them for the anxiety they had expreſſed for him, but that this affection ſeemed to have grown weaker, they having not yet ſent one of the chiefs in ſearch of him as he had requeſted: that he conjured them to ſhew him, as ſoon as poſſible, this mark of attachment, that they might be convinced of the good will of their father Ononthio for the whole nation, and of the kind treatment which they ſhould at all times experience. That it was at his inſtance that his father had allowed an officer to accompany the deputies, to exhort the nation not to liſten to the Dutch, who had inſpired them with falſe ideas; not to interfere with the concerns which Orange and Manhatti might have with the French, and to take no umbrage at the meaſures which might be adopted to chaſtiſe their neighbours, who had ſhaken off allegiance to their lawful Sovereign, whoſe intereſts the King of France had eſpouſed. That he wiſhed they would conſider the French as their brethren. That he would no longer ſeparate himſelf from his father Ononthio. That he would not return to his canton, although he had ample liberty of choice, if they came not to requeſt him in the manner which he had pointed out. That they might depart in ſafety to Montreal, and be ſatisfied that the word he had given would not be diſavowed, and that their confidence ſhould not be abuſed.

The

1690.

The officer who accompanied the deputies was the Chevalier d'Eau, who was firſt ſent to Onnontagué, to teſtify a particular reſpect for this canton, which the Governor courted more than any of the others, and to gain better information of what might be going forward. The conqueſt of Corlar, of which accounts had now arrived, and the return of thoſe employed on this expedition, gave the Governor reaſon to aſſume a higher tone with the Iroquois, and he by this means lowered their haughtineſs.

The northern allies of the French had long entertained an ardent wiſh to connect themſelves with the Engliſh in commerce, by the intervention of the cantons, as the articles of the latter were afforded at a much cheaper rate than thoſe of the French. It had been the prevalent policy to endeavour to keep thoſe nations at war with the Iroquois, in order to interrupt the communication through their country. But intereſt, whoſe influence over the human mind is ever powerful, ſoon taught the ſavages of the north the advantage of entering into an alliance with the Iroquois.

The Outaouais ſent ambaſſadors to the cantons, together with the priſoners whom they had captured in war. Some oppoſition to this proceeding having been made by the French agents and miſſionaries, they were anſwered by the ſavages,

BOOK V.

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vages, that too great reliance had already been placed on the protection of the Governor-General.

They added, that they ſuppoſed Frenchmen to have been warriors; but experience had evinced that they were much inferior to the Iroquois. It was not then ſurpriſing they loſt much time in doing nothing; the conſciouſneſs of their own imbecility reſtrained them. After having witneſſed with what tameneſs they allowed themſelves to be maſſacred in the iſland of Montreal, it was evident they were in a ſituation to afford no aſſiſtance. Their protection was therefore not only become uſeleſs, but prejudicial, by the engagements into which the Outaouais had been unprofitably drawn. Their weakneſs and deficiency in courage appeared in a ſtill more conſpicuous manner at Tſonnonthouàn, where, ſurpriſed at the reſiſtance of the enemy, they were ſatisfied with making war upon the corn, the huts, and canoes; and ſince that period they had not preſumed to make a further attempt, except that of procuring peace by every ſpecies of unworthy expedient and intrigue. They had not even the courage to defend themſelves when attacked; and, contrary to all the examples which experience had afforded to undeceive them, they obſtinately hoped for an accommodation, conceiving it a leſs evil to ſubmit to the imperious dictates of an inſolent enemy, than again to renew

renew the combat. Their alliance was not leſs injurious on account of their commerce, than on account of their wars. They had deprived the Outaouais of traffic with the Engliſh, much more advantageous than their own, and this againſt all the laws of protection, which conſiſt in maintaining freedom of commerce. Beſides, theſe pretended protectors let fall upon their allies the whole weight of the war, whilſt, by a conduct replete with duplicity, they were endeavouring to ſhelter themſelves under a diſhonourable treaty. In a word, whoever ſhould be made acquainted with the ſituation of their affairs, would rather ſuppoſe the allies to be the protectors of the French, than a people protected by the power of that nation.

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M. de Frontenac found it neceſſary, in order to re-eſtabliſh the character of the French in the opinion of the ſavages, to form ſome plan of giving to the Engliſh ſufficient occupation in their own territories.

This appeared the only means of reſtraining the incurſions of the Iroquois, and of rendering them more reaſonable, by making them ſenſible that they ought not to place too great a reliance on the aſſiſtance of the Governor of New York. Thus, the native allies of the French, ſeeing a defenſive war which was badly ſuſtained, converted into a vigorous attack, would reſume their

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their former ſentiments of eſteem for the French nation, or would at leaſt be convinced that an alliance with the enemies of that people would occaſion the ſame misfortunes, which by a ſeparation from them they were endeavouring to avoid, and might perhaps unite them more cloſely than ever to the cauſe of the French.

M. de Frontenac having arranged the general outlines of his plan, ſent to acquaint M. Durantaye, who commanded at Michilimakinac, that he might aſſure the Hurons and the Outaouais, that in a ſhort time they would find a conſiderable alteration in affairs. He prepared a large convoy to reinforce that poſt, and took meaſures for raiſing three parties of men, for the purpoſe of invading, by different avenues, the ſettlements of the Engliſh. The firſt was formed at Montreal, compoſed of a hundred and ten men, commanded by M. d'Aillebout de Mantel, a lieutenant. This party was deſtined for New York, but the choice of the poſts which they ſhould attack was left to the officers, and they did not think proper to arrange this point until they were ready to enter the enemy's country. It was propoſed to attack Orange, but the detachments being averſe to that enterpriſe on account of the difficulties which were likely to attend it, M. de Mantel ſuggeſted an attempt upon Corlar. It was towards evening when this body

body arrived within two leagues of that place, which a Canadian with nine ſavages was detached to reconnoitre. They found the inhabitants unguarded, and without being perceived, they rejoined the party of the French. On account of the exceſſive cold, an immediate attack was reſolved on. Corlar had at that time the figure of a parallelogram, and had only two gates. The one was on the outlet leading to Orange, which was ſix leagues diſtant, the other towards the road on which the French were advancing. They found the gates open, and marched into the town without reſiſtance. As ſoon as they entered, the ſavages and French ſet up the cry of war, the ſignal agreed upon for their joining in one body. Mantel attacked a fort, where he found the people under arms, and met with ſome reſiſtance, but a paſſage being at length forced into it, the defendants were put to the ſword, and the fort was reduced to aſhes. Little reſiſtance was encountered elſewhere, and every houſe was pillaged and burnt.

The French were too near to Orange to remain long in poſſeſſion of the ruins of Corlar; they therefore decamped at noon on the following day. The booty they had acquired, an officer who had been wounded, and whom they were obliged to carry, the priſoners amounting to forty, and the want of proviſions, againſt which

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they had neglected ſufficiently to guard, retarded much the retreat. Many would have periſhed through hunger, had they not found a reſource by living upon horſe-fleſh. The number of horſes which amounted originally to fifty, was reduced to ſix, on their arrival at Montreal. The extremity of want obliged them to ſeparate, when ſome of the parties were attacked, by which they ſuſtained a loſs of three ſavages and ſixteen Frenchmen.

The Algonquins and Abenaquis had lately returned from Acadia, where they had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in an expedition which was attended with ſucceſs. The other two parties, deſtined for ſeparate enterpriſes, were raiſed in the governments of Three Rivers and Quebec; the General thinking by this means to create in the parties an emulation which fails not of being productive of good effects, when the efforts are ſeparately directed, and when every circumſtance which might create jealouſy is ſedulouſly avoided.

The diſtrict of Three Rivers was at that time but thinly peopled, being unable to afford for the expedition more than fifty men, including five Algonquins and twenty Sokakis. This little party, which was headed by the Sieur Hertel, marched from the town on the 28th of January, went by land to the ſouthward, leaving lake Champlain

Champlain upon its left, turned to the eaſtward, and, after a long and difficult march, arrived on the 27th of March near an Engliſh village called Sementels, which had been previouſly reconnoitered by the ſcouts. M. Hertel divided his company into three bands. The firſt, compoſed of fifteen men, had orders to attack a large fortified houſe; the ſecond, which contained only eleven men, was to attack a palliſadoed fort having four baſtions; the third, which he commanded in perſon, was deſtined to attempt a larger fort in which ſome cannon were mounted. 1690.

The ſeveral parts were executed with conduct and valour. The enemy, who were unprepared, were obliged to ſurrender, after a conſiderable number were cut in pieces. The village was pillaged and deſtroyed. The party of French in their retreat were attacked by ſome Engliſh who had come from a neighbouring town, but an advantageous poſt which they had taken near a bridge enabled them to eſcape.

M. Hertel learnt on his way to Quebec, that a party of men from thence, commanded by M. Portneuf, was about the diſtance of two days' journey from him. This body, which conſiſted of the company of M. de Manneval, governor of Acadia, reinforced by ſome Canadians and ſixty Abenaquis from the falls of Chaudiere, departed from Quebec about the ſame time that M.

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Hertel had left Three Rivers. Their ſtock of proviſions was extremely circumſcribed, becauſe a ſcarcity prevailed this year throughout the whole colony, and obliged them to truſt to the chace on their march. It was towards the middle of May before they arrived at a village of the Abinaquis, where Portneuf had expected to increaſe his number of men, but he found it deſtitute of inhabitants. On marching further, he diſcovered another village of the ſame nation, ſituated on the borders of Kinnebequi: he learnt that warriors had a ſhort time before been there on their return from an incurſion into the Engliſh ſettlements. He met with them, and perſuaded them together with other ſavages to accompany him, and on the twenty-fifth he encamped four leagues from Kaſkebé, which he had reſolved to attack. This was a fortified village upon the ſea-coaſt, containing ſome pieces of cannon, with ammunition and proviſions. Four ſavages and two Frenchmen placed themſelves, at night, in ambuſcade near the fort, and an Engliſhman falling into their hands at dawn of day, was killed. The ſavages afterwards ſent forth their cry of war, and towards noon fifty men of the garriſon advanced in good order towards the ſpot from whence they conceived the cry had proceeded. They were almoſt upon it without having perceived any traces of the enemy.

enemy. The French, who beheld their approach, diſcharged their pieces at the diſtance of ten paces, and without giving them time to recover, fell upon them with their ſwords and hatchets, and profiting by the diſorder into which two attacks ſo ſudden and briſk had thrown them, killed and took priſoners the whole number excepting four, who eſcaped into the fort. In the mean time M. Hertel with his party joined M. Portneuf. On the nights of the 26th and 27th of May they encamped on the ſea-coaſt, fifty paces diſtant from the place, covering themſelves with a ſtrong breaſt-work of earth. The trenches were began on the following night: the Canadians as well as the ſavages were ignorant of this mode of attack; but perſeverance, and an ardent deſire of ſucceſs, ſupplied the want of ſkill. They found in ſome ſmall forts which had been abandoned, many neceſſary utenſils for removing the earth; and the advances became ſo rapid on the 28th, that the beſieged demanded a parley, and on the following day ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war.

To regain the confidence of their allies, it was neceſſary that the French ſhould not only reeſtabliſh the reputation of their arms, but place thoſe ſavage nations in a ſtate to be independent of the commerce of the Engliſh, and beyond the dread of the hoſtile efforts of the Iroquois. A

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large convoy was therefore ſent to Michilimakinac, under the conduct of the Sieur de la Porte Louvigny, accompanied by Nicholas Perrot. The latter was charged with preſents from the Governor-General for the ſavages, and the former was to be ſtationed at Michilimakinac in quality of commandant.

M. Durantaye, whom he ſuperſeded, had, by his prudence and firmneſs, preſerved to his ſovereign all the moſt advanced poſts, in times the moſt perilous and difficult, and lived there with the greateſt diſintereſtedneſs. His recal was ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned from his being on a friendly footing with the miſſionaries; and it was certain, that this unanimity which was thought by the late Governor-General ſo eſſential to the public ſervice, was not agreeable to M. de Frontenac. On the other hand, merit and virtue when they become conſpicuous, fail not to attract the envy of many, who would take every opportunity of ruining thoſe, the ſplendor of whoſe qualities throw them in the ſhade. Such characters were not wanting in the caſe of M. Durantaye; and they conveyed falſe impreſſions into the mind of the Governor, already too ſuſceptible of prejudices.

The convoy which M. de Louvigny was conducting, was accompanied by a hundred and forty-three Frenchmen. Six ſavages alſo embarked

barked with them, and they were eſcorted part of the way by a guard of thirty men. They departed on the 22d of May, and on the following day diſcovered two canoes of the Iroquois in a place called the *Chats*. M. Louvigny ſuppoſed they were not alone, and thirty men were detached in three canoes, and ſixty men by land to ſurround the enemy. The firſt fell into an ambuſcade, and ſuſtained a cloſe fire; the Iroquois, who were concealed, taking their aim with ſuch certainty, that nearly the whole were wounded. At length Louvigny landed with fifty men, and charged the enemy ſo powerfully and rapidly that thirty Iroquois were killed, many wounded, and ſeveral taken, and the remainder with difficulty made their eſcape in their canoes, which amounted to thirteen. The defeat of this party was afterwards productive of good effects. The convoy arrived at Michilimakinac at the time when the ambaſſadors of the French allies were on the eve of taking their departure to conclude a treaty with the Iroquois. 1690.

But when they were made acquainted with the ſucceſſes of the French, ſaw the ſtrength of the convoy, and the great quantity of preſents and merchandiſe which had been conveyed thither, they became more ſtrongly attached to the French intereſts, and delayed not to give proofs of their ſincerity. A hundred and ten canoes, carrying

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furs to the value of a hundred thouſand crowns, conducted by more than three hundred ſavages from all the northern nations, departed a little time after for Montreal, where they found the Count de Frontenac, who had come thither to be in readineſs to defend that government, which was threatened with an invaſion.

A party of Iroquois having deſcended to Montreal by the river La Priere, were diſcovered by an inhabitant who gave advice of this circumſtance to the Sieur Colombet, a reduced lieutenant. This officer collected twenty-five men, and went in ſearch of the enemy, who were ſuperior in number, and charged the French with great reſolution. Colombet and great part of his men were killed, and the Iroquois loſt twenty-five men. Some days before, another troop of ſavages had carried off ſixteen people, conſiſting chiefly of women and children, from the borders of the river Becancourt. They were purſued, and the barbarians, with a view to be unembarraſſed in their flight, maſſacred all their priſoners.

On the 29th of Auguſt the Chevalier de Clermont, who was ordered to aſcend the river Sorel to obſerve the enemy, arrived at Montreal, and reported that he had ſeen a great number of warriors on lake Champlain, and that he had even been purſued as far as Chambly. Signals were

were immediately made to aſſemble the troops and militia. The Count de Frontenac went to La Prairie de la Magdeleine, which he had aſſigned as a rendezvous, and the whole of the ſavages aſſembled there, having not even left at Montreal a guard on their merchandiſe. BOOK V. 1690.

Louis Atherihala, one of the moſt conſiderable chiefs of the rapids of St. Louis, made a ſpeech in the name of the Iroquois Chriſtians. He afterwards addreſſed himſelf to the Outaouais, and informed them that he was inſtructed concerning all their negociations with the cantons, and was not ignorant that they had now renounced them. But that upon this point there ſtill remained ſome ſhadow of diſtruſt, and he ſolicited them to declare briefly the reaſons which had induced them to treat thus with the enemy, without the participation of their father, and what was their preſent diſpoſition with regard to the French.

"It is true," replied the Outaouaiſian orator, "that we had reſtored to the Iroquois ſome ſlaves, and have promiſed to ſend them more; but attend to the conduct which has been held towards us, and you will then judge if we are in the wrong. After having engaged us in war, they obliged us to a ceſſation of hoſtilities; and again to take up the hatchet, without inſtructing us of the cauſe. We comprehended none of theſe variations in meaſures, and we were alſo aſtoniſhed

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aſtoniſhed at the little vigour with which the war was ſuſtained. At length, fearing that the French, ſufficiently embarraſſed by defending themſelves, would ſuffer us to be overpowered, without having the means of relieving us, we thought it time to conſult for our ſafety. We have ſent meſſages, and have received anſwers; but the negociation was incomplete. The firſt of our ambaſſadors died among the Tſonnonthouans; the others returned to Michilimakinac without having concluded any terms. In this criſis of affairs we heard of the return of our ancient father, and no ſooner did he announce to us his pleaſure, than we rejected every thought of accommodation with the Iroquois, and are come to receive further inſtructions concerning his future intentions."

When he had ceaſed to ſpeak, the Huron orator aroſe, and ſaid, for his part he had never departed from the alliance of the French, nor from the obedience which he owed to his father, to whom he was reſolved, whatever might happen, to remain always faithful. The General then broke up the conference, leſt it ſhould degenerate into altercation, and told the aſſembly, that as ſoon as he had repelled the enemy far off the lands, each might return to his houſe.

A party of the Iroquois fell upon a quarter named *la Souche*, about a quarter of a league

diſtant from the ſpot where the army were encamped. They there found inhabitants and ſoldiers cutting down corn, and at ſome diſtance from each other, although they had been warned to remain ever on their guard, and within reach of mutual aid. The greater part were without arms, and the commandant of the quarter neglected the precaution of placing ſentinels. Some nevertheleſs defended themſelves well, and the Iroquois loſt ſix men. On the ſide of the French, ten ſoldiers, eleven inhabitants, and four women were taken or killed. The horned cattle were deſtroyed, and the houſes and the hay burnt, after which the enemy retired into the woods. 1690.

The day on which the adventure took place the General aſſembled, for the laſt time, the ſavages, who were impatient for their diſmiſſal. He told them, that their intereſt required them to make war on the Iroquois, and that he would not lay aſide the hatchet until that nation was humbled. He exhorted them to haraſs thoſe barbarians, until they ſhould be in a condition to attack them in their country. He accompanied his diſcourſe with conſiderable preſents and engaging manners, which he well knew how to aſſume, and the ſavages departed well pleaſed with him, and with all the French.

The

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The Iroquois continued their desultory inroads, and several of the inhabitants were killed in different parts of the country.

These unhappy events caused much disquietude to the Governor-General. He called to him Oureouharé, and, after having with brevity explained to him the conduct which he had always held towards his nation, both during the period of his first command, and since his return from France, he said, that at least he might have ventured to entertain a hope, that gratitude for the benefits with which he had loaded him in particular, might have engaged him to open the eyes of his countrymen; that he either must be insensible to the impressions of kindness, if he failed in this act of duty; or his nation must have little estimation for him, if he was unable to prevail on it to adopt counsels more reasonable, and more consonant to its genuine interests.

The Iroquois chief appeared mortified at this discourse, of which he felt the whole force: he nevertheless seemed calm and unaltered; he begged the General to recollect, that on his return from France he had found the cantons engaged in an alliance with the English, which it was difficult to set aside; and so vehemently enraged against the French, whose treacherous conduct had forced them into this alliance, that it was necessary to await the operation of time and

and of conjunctures, towards effecting a more favourable diſpoſition; that for his part, he had done nothing with which he could reproach himſelf; that the refuſal he had made to return to his cantons, where his preſence was ardently deſired, ought to baniſh all ſuſpicion of his fidelity; that if notwithſtanding a mark ſo unequivocal of his attachment to the French they did him the injuſtice to entertain ſentiments to his prejudice, he would not delay to diſpel them. 1690.

This anſwer made the Count de Frontenac repent of his ill humour, and of the diſtruſt with which it had inſpired him; he immediately gave marks of his friendſhip for Oureouharé, and reſolved to conciliate more than ever the attachment of a perſon ſo rational, and from whom he was convinced that great advantages might be derived.

Information was now received that an armament, whoſe ſuppoſed deſtination was to lay ſiege to Quebec, had ſailed from Boſton. The Governor-General entertained doubts that a fleet ſo conſiderable could be fitted out without the leaſt intelligence of ſuch preparations having before reached him. The ſquadron conſiſted of a frigate of forty guns, a ſloop of war of ſixteen guns, an armed veſſel of eight guns, and four gallies. Theſe were under the command of Sir William Phipps, a native of New England, of obſcure

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obſcure origin, but who, by the force of his genius, had raiſed himſelf to diſtinction and to fortune.

After having captured all the fortified places in Acadia, the iſland of Newfoundland, and one or two ſettlements in the river St. Laurence, the Engliſh fleet advanced to Tadouſſac, before it was with certainty known at Quebec that an enemy was coming againſt it. Upon an expreſs being ſent to the Governor, who was then at Montreal, he haſtened to Quebec, bringing with him every aſſiſtance which could be ſpared from the two governments, and from the country through which he paſſed. He found on his arrival, that great exertions had been made by the town major to put the garriſon in a ſtate of defence, and that a number of the neighbouring inhabitants had been called into the town; and, although they had laboured on the fortifications for no more than five days, they had ſufficiently ſecured the garriſon every where from being ſurpriſed by a *coup de main*.

The General added ſome intrenchments which he found neceſſary, and confirmed the order which the major had judiciouſly given to the captains of the companies of militia of Beaupré, of Beauport, of the iſland of Orleans, and of the coaſt of Lauſon, which covered Quebec on the borders of the baſon, not to quit their poſts until

until they ſhould ſee the enemy make a deſcent, and attack the body of the place; they ſhould then hold themſelves in readineſs to march wherever they ſhould be called.

The coaſt of the river along the ſouth channel of Orleans was lined with an armed militia, and a detachment of men under the command of an officer of activity and merit was diſpatched from Quebec, for the purpoſe of watching the movements of the hoſtile ſquadron.

Several veſſels were expected from France, and it was much to be apprehended they might fall into the hands of the enemy. In order, if poſſible, to guard againſt this accident, M. de Frontenac ſent, by the north channel of Orleans, two canoes well equipped, with orders to deſcend until they ſhould find thoſe veſſels, if in the river, and acquaint them with the ſituation of affairs.

The fortifications at that time commenced at the rocky bank above the Intendant's palace, on the borders of the river St. Charles, and ſtretching along the upper town, which they environed, terminated at the mountain called Cape Diamond. They were alſo continued from the palace all along the ſummit of the rock which forms the north-eaſt boundary of the town, and palliſadoed to the cloiſters of the ſeminary, where they joined the precipitous rock called

Sault

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Sault au Matelot, on which there was a battery of three guns. A ſecond palliſade placed beyond the other reached to the ſame place, and was intended for a cover to the infantry.

The lower town contained two batteries, each of three eighteen-pounder guns, filling up the intervals between thoſe in the higher town. The outlets, which had no gates, were barricaded with ſtrong beams of timber, and with caſks filled with earth, on the top of which pattereroes were planted. The road which led from the lower to the upper town was intercepted by three different intrenchments, compoſed of barrels, and bags filled with earth, and of *cheveaux de frieze*. During the ſiege another battery was formed at the Sault au Matelot, and a third at the gate which conducts to the river St. Charles. Some pieces of cannon were alſo diſpoſed on the higher ground, and on the walls of a wind-mill, which ſerved the purpoſe of a cavaliere.

On the 16th of October, at three in the morning, M. de Vaudreuil, who had been detached to watch the movements of the ſhips, returned to Quebec, and reported that he had left them at about three leagues diſtance, at a place then called *l'Arbreſec*, and when day appeared, they were diſtinctly ſeen from the heights. The ſquadron was compoſed of thirty-four veſſels of different deſcriptions, and it was ſaid they contained

tained ſeveral thouſand men, who were to act on ſhore. As it advanced, the ſmaller veſſels were ranged along the coaſt of Beauport, between the iſland of Orleans and the St. Charles, the other veſſels occupying the centre of the great channel. About ten o'clock the whole came to an anchor. A boat with a white flag was ſoon after diſcovered to proceed from the commodore's ſhip. It contained an officer with a trumpet, to ſummon the garriſon to ſurrender. When he landed, he was conveyed blindfold to an apartment in the government houſe, in which the General with ſeveral of his officers were aſſembled. Upon his eyes being unfolded, he delivered a challenge for ſurrendering the garriſon, which was peremptorily rejected. BOOK V. 1690.

The principal deſign of M. de Frontenac, was to encourage the enemy to croſs the river St. Charles, as they could not with effect attack the garriſon but from this ſide. His reaſon was, that the river being fordable only at low water, when they had once paſſed it the beſieged might, without much hazard, go to engage them, and in the event of a defeat the enemy could not eaſily regain their boats, in effecting which they would be obliged to wade for a conſiderable diſtance through the mud. If, on the contrary, the French paſſed the river to meet the Engliſh, they would be ſubjected to ſimilar diſadvantages.

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At mid-day on the 18th, almoſt all the boats belonging to the veſſels, filled with troops, were ſeen to direct their way towards the banks of the St. Charles; but as it could not be aſcertained in what particular place they would land, they met with no reſiſtance. No ſooner had they diſembarked, than M. de Frontenac ſent a detachment of the militia of Montreal and Three Rivers to haraſs them. They were joined by inhabitants from Beauport, and amounted in all to three hundred men, the body which had diſembarked being fifteen hundred. The borders of the river were marſhy, covered with bruſhwood and broken by ſtones; the tide being low, the French were obliged to wade through the mud in order to reach the enemy. Their mode of attack was chiefly by ſkirmiſh, and ſometimes by platoon firing. In this ſituation the Engliſh, unable to profit from their ſuperiority of men, could only fight in the ſame ſavage manner in which they were aſſailed.

Unaccuſtomed to this mode of engagement the latter became diſconcerted, and deceived with reſpect to the numbers of thoſe whom they encountered. The attack continued for about an hour. The Canadians leapt from one rock to another, all around the Engliſh, who, unacquainted with the ground, were obliged to remain together, and keep up a conſtant diſcharge, which

which produced, from the circumſtance already mentioned, but little effect upon the former, who alternately appeared and retired, and whoſe fire had conſiderable impreſſion upon the cloſe files of the latter, who ſuſtained great loſs of numbers. Towards evening the Canadians retreated into the garriſon, and the Engliſh remained encamped near the ſcene of action. 1690.

Four of the largeſt veſſels came the ſame evening to anchor near the town. The ſecond in command, who carried a blue flag, went ſomewhat to the left, oppoſite the *Sault au Matelot*. The commander in chief was upon his right, and the third in command on the left, all oppoſing the Lower Town. Another veſſel advanced towards Cape Diamond. The firſt diſcharge proceeded from the town, and was anſwered by a warm cannonade which continued on both ſides. The fire from the ſhips was principally directed againſt the Upper Town, whoſe ſituation is too elevated to ſuſtain much damage from guns fired from ſhips of war.

The cannonading re-commenced on the following day, but was continued on both ſides with leſs vigour. One of the ſhips became ſo much damaged from the battery on the *Sault au Matelot*, and that on the left at the water's edge, that ſhe was drawn off to a more diſtant ſtation. The large veſſel in the centre, having received many

BOOK V. 1690.

ſhots through the hull, followed the example of the firſt, and at noon the fire totally ceaſed, the veſſels proceeding up the river, beyond Cape Diamond.

The troops remained during the night quiet in their camp, and early next morning arranged themſelves in order for battle. About noon they began to move, directing their march towards the town, having platoons on their wings, and ſome ſavages as an advanced guard. They proceeded in good order along the borders of the St. Charles, until M. M. de Lingueil and Saint Helen, at the head of two hundred volunteers, intercepted their way, and ſkirmiſhing in the ſame manner as before, made ſuch continual and efficacious diſcharges upon them, that they were compelled to enter the bruſhwood, from whence they kept up a heavy fire, obliging the French to retreat.

During this action M. de Frontenac advanced in perſon at the head of three battalions, and having arranged them on the borders of the St. Charles, reſolved to croſs it, if the volunteers ſhould be too heavily preſſed. The commodore landed on the following night ſix pieces of ſix-pounder ordnance, and the Engliſh marched with their artillery in the hope of making a breach in the fortifications. The Sieur Villeu, a lieutenant, who had obtained from the General a ſmall

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a ſmall detachment of men, ſet out before the Engliſh left their encampments, and was followed by ſeveral other little parties, in order to ſupport him. Villeu, who firſt encountered the enemy, prepared an ambuſcade, into which he drew them, by ſkirmiſhing and retreating. He there ſuſtained for a time their efforts, and the enemy ſeeing that they could not eaſily oblige him to retreat, formed a diſpoſition to ſurround him; but one of the detachments which had been deſtined for this purpoſe, fell into a ſecond ambuſcade, when the inhabitants of Beauport, Beaupré, and the iſland of Orleans, were prepared for their reception. The French found themſelves however too weak long to ſuſtain the combat, and they began to retreat by degrees, fighting at the ſame time, until they arrived at a houſe ſurrounded with palliſades, and ſituated on an eminence. They there halted, and getting under cover of the palliſades, kept up ſo ſteady a fire, that they ſtopped the purſuing army.

The ſhips which had aſcended the St. Lawrence dropped down with the tide, and in paſſing the town exchanged ſome ſhots. On the night of the 22d the army reimbarked. Nothing more diſconcerted Sir Wm. Phipps than to find all the troops and militia of the colony aſſembled at Quebec. He had reckoned upon a diviſion being made at Montreal, which would there have re-

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1690.

tained a conſiderable body of men. But this part of the plan, which had been ſettled before the departure of the fleet from New England, failed on account of the diſſatisfaction of the Iroquois, who having marched with the Engliſh for ſome days, afterwards returned to their country.

When it became known that the diviſion againſt Montreal had not ſucceeded, the Commodore, already diſcouraged by the unſucceſsful attempts which he had made againſt Quebec, determined to raiſe the ſiege.

The Engliſh had made ſeveral endeavours to bring off the ſix pieces of cannon and ammunition which they had left at their camp, but the French, who had taken poſſeſſion of them, repeatedly repulſed the boats that were ordered for this ſervice. It appeared that the failure of ammunition was the cauſe of the meaſure which Sir Wm. Phipps adopted. On the evening of the 23d the fleet weighed anchor, and deſcended the river about three leagues, from whence a negociation for the exchange of priſoners took place. The Commodore then proceeded on his route, conſiderably mortified at the unfortunate iſſue of an expedition, on which he had himſelf expended a part of his fortune. His inquietude was augmented by the total privation of aſſiſtance from pilots, without whom it became perilous for ſome of the veſſels of his fleet, which were

were large, to navigate the river; and it is ſaid, that nine of the number were loſt. BOOK V.

On the 12th of November the ſhips expected from France arrived at Quebec; at the news of an enemy's fleet they aſcended a little way into the Saguenay, where they were concealed by the lofty banks, until the Engliſh fleet had paſſed them on its return. 1690.

Their appearance occaſioned ſenſations of ſatisfaction, although they tended not to remedy the ſcarcity which ſoon became extreme, becauſe the incurſions of the Iroquois during the ſpring had not permitted the inhabitants to labour in the fields. The troops were diſtributed into ſuch parts of the country as had not ſuffered from thoſe cauſes, and were cheerfully received.

A party of Iroquois appeared, towards the beginning of May, on the ſide of Montreal. Their number amounted to a thouſand, and having eſtabliſhed their camp at the entrance of the grand river of the Outaouais, they formed two detachments, one of a hundred and twenty men, which took its route towards the north, the other of two hundred men, which turned towards the ſouth. The firſt threw itſelf on a part of Montreal called *Pointe aux Trembles*, where it burnt thirty houſes and barns, and took priſoners ſome inhabitants, whom they treated with their accuſtomed cruelties. 1691.

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1691. The ſecond, in which were twenty Engliſh and ſome Mahingans, directed its courſe between Chambly and la Prairie de la Magdeleine, where it ſurpriſed twelve ſavages of the rapids of St. Louis; but on the following day, the Agniers who were of this party brought them back to their village, and declared that they were come to treat for peace; it was however ſoon perceived that their real intention was to alienate, if they could, from the intereſts of the French, the inhabitants of this village, but the attempt was unattended with ſucceſs. A third party, conſiſting of eighty men, attacked the Iroquois Chriſtians of the mountain, and having inveſted them on all ſides, carried off by day thirty-five women and children, and ſecured their retreat by ſkirmiſhing.

Several other bands leſs numerous ſpread themſelves from Repentigny to the iſlands of Richlieu, committing great devaſtations every where, becauſe the regulars and militia could not keep the field on account of the want of proviſions. Having at length procured a ſufficient quantity to laſt for ſome days, a party of the militia joined the Sieur de la Mine, a captain who had lately left Montreal. They diſcovered ſeveral of the Onneyouths, who had taken ſhelter in an old houſe in the pariſh of St. Sulpicius. The Chevalier de Vaudreuil, accompanied by ſome officers,

officers, ſeveral men, and Oureouharé, who was ſuſpected to have a correſpondence with his nation, came alſo to St. Sulpicius, fell upon ſome of the ſavages by ſurpriſe, and killed the whole, except two, who were wounded, and who eſcaped into the woods. But to diſlodge thoſe in poſſeſſion of the houſe was found a more difficult enterpriſe. At their firſt onſet they loſt one of their beſt officers, which inſpired the barbarians with courage, and without the exertion of extraordinary efforts, a hundred and twenty Frenchmen were in danger of being defeated by twelve Iroquois poſted in a ruinous houſe. The houſe was at length ſet on fire, and the ſavages endeavoured to cut a paſſage through the French with their hatchets, but two or three of them having been killed, five were captured, whom the inhabitants unpitifully burnt, from a conviction that the only means of reſtraining the cruelty of theſe barbarians, was to exerciſe upon them equal torments with thoſe they were accuſtomed to inflict on all their priſoners.

Intelligence having been received that a party compoſed of Engliſh, Mahingans, and Iroquois, were preparing to march for the purpoſe of attacking Montreal, the Chevalier de Callieres aſſembled eight hundred men, and encamped on the Prairie de la Magdeleine. He after detached ſeveral ſcouting parties, one of which diſcovered a canoe

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a canoe of the enemy near Chambly on the river Sorel. On the report of this circumſtance he conceived Chambly to be in danger, and he ſent thither two hundred men, with orders, if the enemy attacked that poſt, to enter into it for its defence; but, if they paſſed beyond it, to be careful to conceal themſelves from their view, and to follow their track, in order to fall on their rear, whilſt he himſelf ſhould engage them in front. Among the Chriſtian ſavages were three chiefs of great reputation. Oureouharé commanded the Hurons of Lorette; an Iroquois named Paul conducted the inhabitants of the *Saut de Saint Louis*, and thoſe of the Mountain; and La Routine, an Algonquin captain, headed a large party of his nation. The fort of the Prairie de la Magdeleine ſtood about thirty paces from the borders of the St. Lawrence, on a ſteep ground between two meadows, one of which near a place called the Fork is interſected by a ſmall river at the diſtance of cannon ſhot from the fort. Between the two runs another ſtream, on which there ſtood a mill; it was on this ſide, at the left of the fort, that the militia encamped. Some of the Outaouais, who happened to be at Montreal when the alarm was given, had joined them. The regular troops encamped on the right, and the officers had their tents pitched oppoſite to them, upon a ſmall elevated ground.

An

An hour before day, the ſentinel who was poſted in the mill perceived ſome people paſſing along the height on which the fort was placed, and he gave the alarm by firing off his fuſil. They were part of the enemy, who gliding between the rivulet of the Fork and the Ravine, gained the great river, and finding the quarters of the militia almoſt abandoned, drove away the few men who remained and lodged themſelves there. Some inhabitants, and ſix of the Outaouais were killed in this ſurpriſe. At the alarm given by the ſentinel, M. de Saint Cyrque, an old captain who commanded in the abſence of M. de Callieres, marched at the head of the troops, placed them in two diviſions, and ſurrounded the fort. The battalion which Saint Cyrque commanded in perſon firſt came in view of the former quarters of the militia, and this officer, uncertain that the enemy were in poſſeſſion of them, ſtopped to be acquainted with the fact. He inſtantly received a diſcharge of muſquetry, by which he and two of his officers were killed. The other battalion arrived at the moment, and charged the enemy, who after a vigorous reſiſtance, and ſeeing themſelves on the point of having the whole French army to engage, retreated in good order. They were allowed to go off without moleſtation. They had only ſix men killed and thirty wounded. The loſs of the French was more conſiderable.

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able. The ſcalps of many Frenchmen were carried off, and the Iroquois ſet up a loud cry when they had retreated to a ſmall diſtance. Being about to enter the woods, they perceived a ſmall detachment, whom they followed, and forming an ambuſcade, killed the whole of its members. Elated by this ſucceſs they returned by the way they had advanced, but before they had proceeded two leagues their ſcouts diſcovered another party of French and ſavages under the command of M. de Valrenes. They had only ſeen the van of this body, and believing it not to be conſiderable, they heſitated not to attack it with ſuch reſolution as would have diſconcerted an officer leſs firm and experienced than Valrenes. He found two large trees that had fallen, and behind theſe he entrenched his troops, making them lie down to avoid the firſt fire of the enemy. They afterwards aroſe, and forming themſelves into three diviſions, charged the enemy with ſuch order and impetuoſity that they every where gave way. They however recovered, and after a combat of one hour and a half, they were obliged to diſband, and the route became complete. The French had ſixty men killed and as many wounded, of whom ſeveral died. An Engliſhman who was taken priſoner gave information, that, on the return of the firſt party, another of four hundred men were to have advanced; that

five

five hundred Iroquois were to arrive at Cataracony, and that their deſign was to deſtroy the harveſt of the colony. But no more ſigns of an enemy appearing, the harveſt, whoſe failure would have reduced the ſettlement to the laſt extremity, was reaped in tranquillity, and proved to be abundant. 1691.

On receiving intelligence of the approach of the enemy, M. de Frontenac proceeded from Quebec to Montreal, and on his arrival was informed of their departure and defeat. He received ſoon after a letter from the Governor-General of New England, requeſting that ſome priſoners which the Abinaquis had made in his territory might be reſtored, and propoſing a neutrality in America, notwithſtanding the hoſtilities which in Europe continued between their two Sovereigns. It was believed that this propoſal was not dictated by ſincerity, becauſe he had not mentioned an intention of ſending back the French who were detained at Boſton.

The Iroquois continued, without intermiſſion, to purſue their hoſtility to the French: two women who had been made priſoners, having eſcaped in the beginning of November, informed the Chevalier de Callieres, that two parties of three hundred and fifty men each were on their march to ſurpriſe the ſettlement of Saut de Saint Louis. On this advice the Governor ſent to that

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that village a party of troops, and diſtributed another party in the neighbouring forts. The protection of Montreal was committed to the inhabitants. A few days after, one of the parties of the Iroquois, which had deſcended by lake Ontario, appeared in view of the *Saut*; but without forſaking the woods. The French went out againſt theſe barbarians, and for two days had ſome ſharp ſkirmiſhes, in which the loſs on both ſides was nearly equal, when the enemy, who had relied on a ſurpriſe, retired.

1691.

The ſecond party entered by lake Champlain, but ſome of them having withdrawn, and the chiefs having learnt that the firſt party had retreated, conceived it imprudent to proceed.

1692. In the beginning of February M. de Callieres received orders from M. de Frontenac to raiſe a detachment of men to ſend into that immenſe peninſula, which is formed by the junction of the St. Lawrence and the great river of the Outaouais. The Iroquois frequently went thither in the winter, for the chace, and it was reported they were then in great numbers in that territory. Three hundred men, compoſed of French and ſavages, were raiſed, and marched under the orders of M. de Beaucourt, a captain.

This officer, on arriving at the iſle of Toniathos, which is at a ſmall diſtance from Catarocony, met there fifty Tſonnonthouans, who had

thus far advanced in purſuing the chace, with a deſign afterwards to make an irruption on the French ſettlements, and to prevent the inhabitants from ſowing their corn. The French attacked them in their huts, killed twenty-four, took ſixteen, and liberated an officer named La Plante, who had been captured three years before, and who not being at firſt known, on account of his ſavage habiliments, was upon the point of being killed as an Iroquois. This expedition terminated here; but it was learnt from the priſoners that another troop of a hundred Iroquois of the ſame canton were on a hunting party at a place on the river of the Outaouais, called, the Fall of Chaudiere; that their intention was to canton themſelves there until the melting of the ſnows; that two hundred Onnontagués, commanded by one of their braveſt chiefs, named La Chaudiere Noire, was expected to join them, and that it was propoſed to remain there during the ſummer, to exclude the French from the paſſage to or from Michilimakinac. 1692.

As a large convoy of furs from all the countries of the north and weſt was expected, it was thought neceſſary to ſend a ſtrong eſcort for its protection; but M. Callieres could not leave his government without defence, becauſe he had occaſion for all his troops to guard the people who were occupied in the labours of huſbandry. He therefore

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1692. therefore gave intelligence to the Count de Frontenac of the accounts which had been conveyed to him: this General, perſuaded that the defeat of the fifty Tſonnonthouans already mentioned had diſconcerted the meaſures of the Iroquois, ordered that he ſhould immediately ſend a perſon named S. Michel with forty Canadian Voyageurs, to carry his commands to Michilimakinac, and that they ſhould be eſcorted by three well-armed canoes, until they ſhould have paſſed the Fall of Chaudiere.

The order was obeyed, and the eſcort conducted the Canadians to the place pointed out, without having ſeen a ſingle Iroquois; but, a few days afterwards, the Sieur St. Michel having perceived ſome tracks, and alſo two Iroquois who appeared to him as ſcouts, doubted not that the Chaudiere Noire was at hand with his troop, and therefore returned to Montreal. He had not long diſembarked when M. de Frontenac, who was then at that place, made him again depart with thirty Frenchmen and thirty ſavages. He was followed by an officer named Tilly de S. Pierre, who went by the river *du Lièvre*, which diſcharges itſelf into the river of the Outaouais, five leagues lower than the Fall of Chaudiere. St. Michel, on arriving at the Portage de Chats, the ſame ſpot from whence he had returned on his firſt voyage, ſaw again two ſcouts, and perceived

ceived at the ſame time a great number of canoes, which ſavages were putting into the water. He conceived it imprudent to expoſe his party to a conteſt which would be extremely unequal, and took, a ſecond time, the road to Montreal. Three days after his arrival, ſixty ſavages from the diſtant lands, charged with great quantities of furs, and who had deſcended by the river du Liévre, alſo arrived, and ſaid that they had met M. de S. Pierre beyond the reach of danger from an enemy. They diſpoſed of their articles of commerce, and requeſted an eſcort to conduct them to a place where they were to take an unfrequented path. 1692.

St. Michel accompanied them with a guard of thirty men, commanded by M. de la Gemeraye, a lieutenant, who had under him La Freſniere, eldeſt ſon of the Sieur Hertel. This body having arrived at the *long Sault* of the great river, where for a certain diſtance the baggage muſt be carried over land, whilſt a part of the men were occupied in mounting the empty canoes, and others marched along the border of the river to cover them, a diſcharge of fuſils made by perſons concealed diſperſed all the ſavages, who formed a ſecond band, and killed ſeveral Frenchmen.

The Iroquois immediately forſaking their ambuſcade, threw themſelves with fury on the remaining Frenchmen, and in the confuſion which

BOOK V. 1692.

an attack ſo fierce and unexpected had occaſioned, they who attempted to regain their canoes made them wheel into the current; ſo that the enemy poſſeſſed a double advantage over thoſe, who were obliged at the ſame time to defend themſelves, and to ſtruggle with the rapidity of the waters. La Gemeraye and three other officers defended themſelves with ſuch obſtinacy as would have ſaved them, if they had not been abandoned by their ſavages. But as they had loſt almoſt the whole of their ſoldiers, they could take no other meaſure than to retreat with all poſſible diſpatch. Unhappily the canoe which contained St. Michel and the Hertels was taken. La Gemeraye and ſome ſoldiers were fortunate enough to eſcape.

The Chaudiere Noire afterwards made a deſcent upon a part of the iſland of Montreal called *La Cheſnaye*, and carried off from thence three young ſavages, and fourteen inhabitants who were making hay.

The ſituation of the colony was now very different from that in which it was two years before. Little was to be apprehended from the quarter of New England, and the inroads of the Iroquois were productive of no very ſerious conſequences, when not ſuſtained by the Engliſh. Its preſent ſtate of comparative proſperity was in a great degree attributable to the activity and firmneſs of the

1692.

the Governor. The haughty and unbending manner by which he had gained a ſuperiority over the enemy; the efficacious means he had employed to render his allies tractable, and to re-eſtabliſh the credit of the French, made him to be feared by the one, and reſpected by the other.

But whilſt every degree of juſtice was allowed to the ſuperiority of his talents, and to the application which he made of them to procure reſpect for the colony abroad, and its internal ſecurity, he was in ſome inſtances highly reprehenſible. It was lamented by many, that from regard to his officers, whoſe attachment and eſteem he was anxious to conciliate, he had allowed to fall upon the inhabitants the burden and fatigue of war. That he ruined theſe by unprofitable toil, whilſt the ſoldiers were working the lands, by which means the officers drew conſiderable profit from the produce: thus it was occaſioned, that the colony was not flouriſhing, and that commerce was in a languiſhing ſtate. Another complaint ſtill more ſerious and univerſal, aroſe from the countenance he continued to give to the traffic in ſpirituous liquors, or at leaſt from his toleration on this point, both equally cenſurable in a General, who alone had the power of putting a ſtop to the evil whenever he ſhould think fit.

BOOK V.

Advice was received that a body of eight hundred Iroquois were in march to attack the colony.

1692. They were ſeparated into two equal diviſions; one was to deſcend by lake Champlain, and the other by the St. Lawrence, with a deſign to reunite near the rapids of St. Louis, to entrench themſelves there, to draw out by a feigned negotiation as many of the inhabitants of this village as they could, and to maſſacre all that ſhould fall into their hands. But finding on their arrival that a knowledge of their intentions had been gained, and that the village was in a good ſtate of defence, they took their departure without making any ſerious attempt.

The General ſoon after detached three hundred Canadians, a hundred regulars, and a great number of allied ſavages, under the command of M. M. de Mantel, De Courtemanche, and De la Noue, deſtined for the canton of Agniers, with orders to give no quarter to any perſon capable of bearing arms, to put all to death without taking one priſoner, and to bring off the women and children to people the Chriſtian villages of their nation.

1693. But experience ought to have ſuggeſted, that a plan ſuch as this was difficult to be executed. The army arrived in the canton of Agnier on the 16th of February, without having been diſcovered. It appeared that this canton was then

compoſed of three fortified villages. La Noue attacked the firſt, and took it without much reſiſtance; he burnt the palliſades, the cabins, and all the proviſions. Mantel and Courtemanche alſo, without much reſiſtance, got poſſeſſion of the ſecond, which was about a quarter of a league diſtant, and as ſeveral priſoners were made, Courtemanche had the charge of guarding them. The third village was larger, and required much greater trouble to become maſters of it. La Noue and Mantel arrived there on the 18th at night, and found the inhabitants ſinging the ſong of war. Therein were forty Agniers, who, ignorant of what had happened in their neighbourhood, were preparing to join a party of fifty Onneyouths, who were to have reinforced a body of two hundred Engliſh, with a view to make an irruption into Canada. They were inſtantly attacked, and although ſurpriſed, they defended themſelves with much valour: twenty men and ſome women were killed in the firſt onſet, and two hundred and fifty perſons were taken priſoners.

BOOK V. 1693.

It had been recommended, it has been ſaid, to give quarter to women and children only, but the ſavages paid no attention to that recommendation. To this miſtake they added another, by obliging the French to entrench themſelves,

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after two days' march on their return, that they might await the enemy who were purſuing them. The little army, although it had ſcarcely proviſions to enable it to reach Montreal, awaited the enemy for two days: at length they appeared, and entrenched in a ſituation oppoſite to the French, who charged them three times with reſolution; they defended themſelves with vigour, and the entrenchment was not forced until the third attack. Eight Frenchmen and eight ſavages were killed, and twelve were wounded. The loſs of the Onneyouths was not more conſiderable, and the remainder ſaved themſelves by diſappearing. But they ſoon afterwards rallied, and continued to follow and harraſs the French for the ſpace of three days. The bad roads and the ſcarcity of proviſions obliging the Frenchmen to diſband, a great number of priſoners eſcaped, and only ſixty-four were brought to Montreal.

There were at this time at Michilimakinac great quantities of furs, which the ſavages would not venture to bring to Montreal without an eſcort, which the General was not able to afford; it was however of great conſequence that theſe furs ſhould be tranſported thither, and it was ſtill of greater moment that the Sieur de Louvigny ſhould be informed of intelligence which had been

been received of an intended attack on the colony, and of the manner in which he ſhould act in that alarming conjuncture.

It was propoſed to the Sieur d'Argenteuil, a reduced lieutenant, to aſcend to Michilimakinac, and he chearfully accepted that commiſſion. But it was only by promiſes of great advantage that eighteen Canadians could be prevailed on to accompany him. M. de la Valtrie had orders to eſcort them with twenty French ſoldiers, beyond all the dangerous paſſages. D'Argenteuil performed his voyage ſucceſsfully, but M. la Valtrie was attacked near the iſland of Montreal, on his return, by a party of Iroquois. He was himſelf killed, together with three Frenchmen, and an Iroquois of the mountain was taken priſoner. The others of his party made their eſcape.

BOOK VI.

Deputies of the Iroquois arrive at Montreal.—Expedition againſt Port Nelſon fitted out from Quebec.—Conference with the Huron and Iroquois Deputies.—Hoſtilities of the Iroquois.—Re-eſtabliſhment of the Fort at Cataroquoy.—Irruption of the Iroquois.—Deputies of the Hurons ſent to ſolicit a Diminution of the Price of Merchandiſe.—Anſwer of the General.—Conduct of a Sioux Chief.—Change in the Diſpoſition of the Allies of the Upper Country, effected by the Addreſs of M. de la Motte Cadillac.—Preparations for an Expedition againſt the Iroquois.—Reſult of that Expedition.—Death of La Chaudiere Noire, principal Chief of the Iroquois.

BOOK VI.

1693.

WE have already ſhewn, in the courſe of this work, the repeated and inſincere attempts made on the part of the Iroquois to negociate with the French on terms of peace. To theſe they were driven more by the temporary exigences of their affairs than by a wiſh to be exempted from the dangers and fatigues of war, which becomes a principal part of their occupation, and ſeems to be their only incentive to energy and exertion.

When treaties of peace were even concluded, little dependence could be placed on their obſervance any longer than the firſt favourable opportunity

opportunity of gaining an advantage ſhould preſent itſelf. Thus the French were kept in a ſtate of almoſt uninterrupted alarm by thoſe fierce, reſtleſs, and political barbarians. 1693.

Two Onnontagués having come to Montreal, to inquire of M. de Callieres if the deputies of the five cantons, who, they added, were already on their way, would be well received in ſoliciting their father Ononthio to grant them peace; the Governor, who was made acquainted with the intentions of the General, anſwered, that their conditions would be attended to if they preſented them. With this anſwer they retired, and nearly two months elapſed without any thing further having been offered on that ſubject. M. de Callieres was by no means ſurpriſed at their conduct; that nothing, however, might be wanting which depended on him, he thought it neceſſary to ſend ſome parties towards New York, to ſee if by means of priſoners whom they ſhould take from the Iroquois they could diſcover the real cauſe of the miſſion of their firſt deputies, and of the retardation of their ſecond. 1694.

On the 23d of March two Agniers came to Montreal to preſent the excuſes of Teganiſſorens, who ought to have been the chief of the deputation, and they ſaid, that the Engliſh were in fault if the cantons had not kept their promiſe. They were not favourably received, becauſe M. de

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de Frontenac had been informed by ſome ſavages of Acadia, that they only wanted to gain time in order to put him off his guard; that they had formed the deſign of ſtabbing him and the Chevalier Callieres in a council, where they propoſed to meet in great numbers; of aſſembling, in the neighbourhood of Montreal, numerous parties ready to fall upon the colony, when ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at that deed, and deſtitute of its chiefs; and of carrying every where deſtruction and deſolation throughout the ſettlement.

Some abatement was doubtleſs to be made with regard to the horror and extent of the project; but prudence demanded that a ſtrict obſervation ſhould every where be preſerved. In the month of May, Teganiſſorens arrived at Quebec with eight deputies. It was in the middle of ſeed-time, and this cauſed the General to diſſemble the little confidence he placed in this deputation. He gave the ambaſſadors a public audience with great outward ſhew, and much was ſaid on the one part, and on the other. The good will of Teganiſſorens appeared not only in the harangue which he delivered in the aſſembly, but alſo in private converſations which he had with M. de Frontenac, to whom he preſented collars on the part of Garakontié.

The General ſhewed him much civility, begged him to aſſure Garakontié of his high conſideration

tion and eſteem, and joined to theſe marks of kindneſs ſome preſents of value for both; but, perſuaded that neither the one nor the other would enter into the councils of their countrymen, he only reckoned upon their regard, without flattering himſelf that their credit with their nation was ſuch, as to influence it to embrace meaſures of perfect reconciliation. He afterwards prolonged the ſtay of the deputies, as long as was neceſſary to afford the inhabitants time to ſow their land; and this delay produced another effect, which was not leſs advantageous to the colony. BOOK VI. 1694.

M. de Louvigny had reaſon to apprehend a rupture with the allies in the countries of the north and weſt, to whom the Iroquois failed not to inſinuate that the French wiſhed to come to an accommodation with the cantons, without taking the trouble to include in the negotiation the particular intereſts of the allies. All that the Iroquois gained by this artful manœuvre, was to engage the principal chiefs of theſe nations to inquire, themſelves, into the validity of this ſtatement. Theſe chiefs ſet out for Quebec, where they arrived two days after the departure of the Iroquois deputies. M. de Frontenac having learnt from themſelves the ſubject of their voyage, ſent an expreſs to Teganiſſorens to ſolicit his return to Quebec. He immediately complied,

ſaw

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ſaw the chiefs of the allies, who, after they had liſtened to what he had to ſay reſpecting them, comprehended that the Iroquois had only in view to lead them into miſtake, to prevent their parties from haraſſing them, and to embroil them with the French, that they might be able both to purchaſe and ſell to great advantage.

The Governor was not wanting in uſing his endeavours to extract from this deputation of Teganiſſorens another advantage, which appeared to him not leſs eſſential, although many held a different opinion. This was, the re-eſtabliſhment of the fort of Catarocony. Teganiſſorens made the firſt propoſal to that effect, which perhaps the General had himſelf ſuggeſted. He however ardently laid hold of this opening, and did not delay a moment to make preparation for an enterpriſe which he had long deſired. He engaged many perſons to labour with diligence in the completion of a large convoy, which was deſtined to conduct to this poſt a garriſon, ammunition, and every thing requiſite for an eſtabliſhment, which was intended as the bulwark of the colony. He gave the command to the Chevalier de Criſaſy; but when this officer was upon the point of embarking, he received an order for diſarming the expedition.

The cauſe of this change proceeded from M. de Serigny, who arrived at Montreal, where the General

General then was, with a commiſſion from the King to raiſe conſiderable detachments for an enterpriſe againſt Port Nelſon. The court had always much at heart this expedition, and Serigny himſelf was to command it, with D'Iberville, his brother, as his ſecond. Not a moment could be loſt, and it was neceſſary to aſſign for this ſervice a great part of the people who were to have accompanied the Chevalier de Criſaſy. A hundred and twenty Canadians, and ſome ſavages of the Sault de St. Louis, were put under the orders of Serigny, and the remainder were diſcharged until there ſhould be a further occaſion for their ſervices. 1694.

A ſhort time afterwards, two Frenchmen who had eſcaped from Onnontagué, where they were priſoners, aſſured M. de Frontenac that he muſt place no reliance on a proſpect of peace with the Iroquois nation: the General believed that their information was not good, and the chiefs of the nations of the weſt and north having arrived on the end of the month of Auguſt, with a great convoy of furs, conducted by M. de Louvigny, he took care that they ſhould not be informed of the intelligence he had received.

At the expiration of fifteen days, Oureouharé, who had accompanied Teganiſſorens on his return, came back with thirteen French priſoners, whom he had liberated, and among whom were the

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the two Hertels, taken two years before in the defeat of M. de la Gemeraye, and who were ſuppoſed to have been dead; he brought no other deputies but thoſe of his canton of Goyogouin, and of that of Tſonnonthouan. The regard which the Count de Frontenac had for their conductor made him give them a favourable reception, and the General wiſhed the chiefs of the allies to be preſent at the audience which he held.

Oureouharé, who was the ſpeaker, began by preſenting a collar, which imported that he had broken the chains of thirteen Frenchmen; he then preſented others, to denote that the cantons whoſe deputies were preſent, perceiving that the negotiation of Teganiſſorens was too much prolonged, and knowing that it was impeded by the Engliſh, had taken the meaſure of charging their envoys to ſolicit their father not to be impatient, to aſſure him that they would, at whatever price, re-enter into his good opinion, and to conjure him yet to ſuſpend the hatchet for a time.

The General aſked them, if they meant not to comprehend all the nations in the treaty which was agitating; and this queſtion threw them into ſome embarraſſment. They conſulted among themſelves for a ſhort time, and afterwards gave an ambiguous anſwer. Father Buryas, ſuperior of miſſions, who was the interpreter, begged them

them to explain themſelves more clearly, and on this their confuſion ſeemed to increaſe. The Count de Frontenac then ſaid, that he accepted the firſt collar, and that he ſent back with pleaſure his children, who ſeemed to feel ſo much pain: that he knew the good-will of the deputies of the two cantons, and their eagerneſs to give him proteſtations of their fidelity; but that he would not receive the other collars, by which they pretended to ſtop his arm, and that he muſt quickly ſtrike a blow, if they haſtened not to render him a more preciſe anſwer, reſpecting all that he had declared to Teganiſſorens.

He afterwards regaled them in a plentiful and handſome ſtile, and during the entertainment, aſſuming thoſe conciliating manners which he had ever at command, he ſtudied to impreſs the Goyogouins and Tſonnonthouans with the idea that he wiſhed for peace, but more on their account than his own, and as became a father who chaſtiſes his children with regret. He re-aſſembled, after ſome days, all the ſavages, and appeared to ſhew much reſentment that Teganiſſorens had not returned at the time which he had appointed; and ſtill more that they had conſulted with the Engliſh, who regarding only their particular intereſts could not but diſconcert the negotiation. He added, that he would not long be the dupe of the irreſolution and inconſtancy

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ſtancy of the cantons; that he and his allies would ſeriouſly re-commence the war, and that it ſhould be carried on with greater ſpirit and activity than ever.

The deputies, who little expected this menace, wiſhed to inſpire him with a diſtruſt of his allies; but he took up their defence, and proteſted that he would never ſeparate their intereſts from his own. He however failed not to liſten attentively to ſome reproaches which the Iroquois and the Hurons mutually exchanged, wiſhing, no doubt, to try if he could draw ſome information reſpecting the conduct of the latter, in whom he never very greatly confided; but after a ſpirited altercation, from which he could learn nothing that he did not already know, he impoſed ſilence on the two parties. He then ſaid to the Iroquois, that he ſhould not greatly haſten his preparations, that he might give them time to recover a ſenſe of their duty; but if they continued to abuſe his patience, he ſhould make them ſenſible, that in proportion as he was a good father and faithful ally, ſo ſhould they, on the contrary, experience him to be a formidable enemy. He ſpoke in a like tone to the other ſavages, and took leave of them, loaded with preſents, and full of reſpect for his perſon.

Towards the end of October father Milet arrived at Montreal, after five years of ſlavery, a conſiderable

conſiderable part of which he had paſſed in the conſtant expectation of being ſubjected to the ſufferings deſtined for priſoners of war, and he gave intelligence to the General, that Taréha was following him with the deputies of the canton of Onneyouth. They diſembarked, indeed, in a few days afterwards, and met with an unfavourable reception: it was even doubtful whether they ſhould not be treated as ſpies. M. de Frontenac relented, however, ſomewhat from his ſeverity, on the teſtimony of the miſſionary, to whom Taréha had effectually rendered good ſervices during his captivity; and although he began to give ſome credit to what he had been told by the Abinaquis, that all theſe negotiations tended only to amuſe, he reflected that they had not been altogether without their uſe, by having procured ſome repoſe for the inhabitants of the colony. It was beſides neceſſary for him at leaſt to pretend to give them credit, or to march to attack the Iroquois with a force capable of exterminating them; and he muſt firſt have been maſter of one equal to ſuch a ſervice. The Engliſh had conſtructed a fort at Onnontagué, and it was in a condition of defence. The Iroquois could, if neceſſary, muſter three thouſand warriors, and the Governor of New York would not ſuffer them to periſh for want of aſſiſtance.

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M. de Frontenac could not reckon on more than two thouſand at the utmoſt, including in that number the troops, the militia, and the domiciliated ſavages; prudence would not ſuffer him to withdraw his men from the moſt expoſed poſts, which were ſufficiently numerous. Thus upon due reflection, much had been done in preventing an invaſion by conſiderable parties, who would have ravaged and laid waſte the cultivated fields, a misfortune which would have been followed by a general ſcarcity. The ceſſation of hoſtilities was the fruit of the negotiations which had been mentioned, and the ſmall parties which had appeared in the country from time to time, whilſt theſe were going forward, had only ſerved to keep the French upon their guard.

The Iroquois continued to make great promiſes, without any views of ſincerity. It was afterwards underſtood, that it was not from New York that the greateſt obſtacles to a perfect reconciliation between the cantons and the French originated; the Dutch, who had a great party in that province, not being averſe to the peace; but that it principally depended on New England. From whatever quarter, however, the impediment might be derived, there was no perſon in Canada who was not convinced of the urgent neceſſity of executing the menaces which had ſo often been repeated to theſe ſavages.

The

The court of France was alſo of the ſame opinion.

1695.

It now became neceſſary to convince the Iroquois that they ſhould no longer boaſt of the French being the dupes of their policy; and this was ſtill more apparent, when theſe barbarians, after ſeveral intrigues to detach from the French intereſt their countrymen of the *Sault de Saint Louis* and of the mountain, who were upon the point of yielding to their perſuaſions, ſeeing all their machinations diſcovered, began to ſhew themſelves in the vicinity of the habitations, and to exerciſe there their uſual cruelties and ſyſtem of plunder.

The vigilance and activity of the Governor of Montreal defeated, in a great degree, their meaſures. One of the chiefs of the *Sault de Saint Louis*, who had ſecretly entered into a negotiation with them, was driven from the village. The Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, who had ſucceeded M. de Louvigny at Michilimakinac, found means to engage the ſavages of his diſtrict to fall upon the common enemy, who had been at ſome pains to detach them from the French alliance. But this prevented not the inhabitants from being kept in continual alarm, the Iroquois preparing for them ambuſcades in every quarter, and approaching to maſſacre them in view of, and almoſt under the cannon of the forts.

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1695.

These hostilities had been preceded by insolent propoſals on the part of the cantons, who, at the moment they ceaſed to pretend a wiſh for peace, had reſumed their former airs of haughtineſs. They began by requiring that the Governor-General ſhould ſend, in his turn, deputies to treat at their villages; and for the firſt preliminary article they exacted, that all hoſtilities on the part of the French and of their allies ſhould forthwith ceaſe, not only with reſpect to them, but alſo to the Engliſh.

So haughty a tone from an enemy, whom it was conceived not impracticable to humiliate; the neceſſity of taking meaſures for that end, if the French wiſhed not to loſe all the credit they had gained in the opinion of their allies, and the mortification of witneſſing the extremities and even the centre of the colony become again the theatre of a war, in which every thing was hazarded without the hope of advantage, made thoſe, whom experience of the paſt had led to entertain diſquieting apprehenſions of the future, ardently deſire that the whole forces of Canada might be aſſembled, to march againſt the cantons, and to compel them to repent that they had not profited by the favourable opportunity which was offered them of concluding an advantageous peace. The Count de Frontenac was not of that opinion.

He

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He was firmly perſuaded that the moſt efficacious remedy againſt theſe evils which were feared, was to repair the fort of Catarocony; and reſolved to execute this deſign, of which he had not loſt the view for a moment ſince his return from France, whatever obſtacle he might find to ſurmount in attaining his object.

His reſolution was ſcarcely declared, when M. de Champigny and all the officers of government repreſented to him in a ſtriking manner the dangerous conſequences which might enſue from an enterpriſe, where he alone diſcovered advantages which no other perſon could diſcern; adding, that the troops and militia which muſt be kept there, would be much better occupied in repreſſing the inſolence of the Iroquois. It was remarked to him, that the cantons having oftener than once demanded the re-eſtabliſhment of this poſt, it would be not only beſtowing on them a favour of which they were unworthy, but even in a manner receiving law from them, which they ſeemed to impoſe with arms in their hands.

Theſe repreſentations affected not the General. He anſwered, that although he ſtood alone in his opinion, he would follow it. He preſently departed for Montreal, where he arrived on the 18th of July, eſcorted by a hundred and ten inhabitants of Quebec and Three Rivers. He raiſed beſides fifty men of the militia of Montreal,

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two hundred ſoldiers, and two hundred ſavages, with thirty-ſix officers, all choſen men, who under the command of the Chevalier Criſaſy, whom the General entruſted with the execution of the enterpriſe, might have been ſufficient to have brought the Iroquois to reaſon. The preparations were made with all poſſible diligence, and the moment the convoy was ready it began to proceed to the place of its deſtination.

M. de Frontenac very ſoon after received a letter from M. de Pontehartrain, wherein that miniſter acquainted him that the King did not approve of the intention of re-eſtabliſhing the fort of Catarocony. He however took upon him to pay no other attention to this intimation of authority, than by aſſigning reaſons for the conduct which he had held on this occaſion: the principal of which was, that the dereliction of this enterpriſe, of which the chiefs of the Outaouais had been eye-witneſſes, would have ſo ſunk the French in their eſtimation, by the ſtrong impreſſions which muſt have been formed of their weakneſs, or their deſire to renew negotiation with the enemy, that this alone might have been ſufficient to have alienated them from the French, or to have induced them to entertain thoughts of making peace without their participation, eſpecially after the joy which they had publickly teſtified, to be able by means of this eſtabliſh-

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ment to find a ſecure retreat in all the enterpriſes which they might form againſt the Iroquois. The expedition was happily performed at ſmall expence, and in little time. Not a ſingle man was loſt; and, although it was originally intended to fortify the branches with ſtakes only, means were found to repair them in the courſe of eight days with ſtone, without incurring any expence to the King. BOOK VI. 1695.

The Chevalier de Criſaſy ſhewed in the execution of his orders a conduct which excited the commendations even of thoſe who moſt diſapproved of the enterpriſe with which he was charged. He aſcended the river with great expedition, and ſpeedily repaired the fort. But his zeal and his vigilance ended not there; before his return to Montreal he detached a number of ſcouts, compoſed of eighty ſavages, divided into ſmall bodies, and, it may be ſaid, that the colony owed to this precaution, as much as to the valour of ſome officers, which ſhall afterwards be mentioned, the happineſs which it enjoyed of reaping the harveſt in tranquillity.

Forty of this diſcovering party having approached towards Onnontagué, ſome of them who advanced to the river De Chougen witneſſed the deſcent of thirty-three canoes of Iroquois, and they even heard ſome of theſe ſavages ſaying to each other, that they were about to pay

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to the French, and to their brethren at St. Louis, a viſit which would be little expected. The other parties confirmed, that a great number of Iroquois were in the country. They all made ſufficient haſte to give to the Governor of Montreal leiſure to place his poſts in a ſituation to bid defiance to inſult, and to M. de Frontenac to form a corps of eight hundred men on the iſland of Perrot.

The enemy failed not to advance to Montreal, and diſembarked on that iſland, in ſmall platoons, where they maſſacred ſome inhabitants. On advice of this being brought to the Governor-General, he thought fit to divide his little army, and to diſperſe it among the pariſhes to cover the reapers: this diſpoſition diſconcerted all the meaſures of the Iroquois, a conſiderable body of whom was defeated behind Boucherville by M. de la Durantaye. There were ſome ſurpriſes made by the barbarians, but without any material injury. Thus finiſhed the campaign in the centre of the colony. It proved ſtill leſs profitable to the Iroquois in the quarters towards the weſt.

It has been remarked, that M. la Motte Cadillac had influenced the ſavages who were in the neighbourhood of his poſt to make a deſcent on the common enemy. They were ſucceſsful, and brought to Michilimakinac a great number of

of priſoners. The Iroquois wiſhed to ſatisfy their vengeance on the French, and marched in great force to conſtrain the Miamis to declare themſelves againſt them; reſolved, if they refuſed, to drive them from the river St. Joſeph, where there was a populous village of theſe ſavages. By good fortune M. de Comtemanche was at that place, together with ſome Canadians, when the Iroquois appeared. He joined the Miamis, and fell ſo fiercely on the barbarians, who were far from expecting that reception, that after having killed and wounded a great number, he obliged the remainder to fly in great diſorder. 1695.

This check was ſenſibly felt by them; but they found an advantage to counterbalance it by the perfidy of a Huron chief, called by the French, the Baron. He was a dangerous character, and the French, whoſe enemy he naturally was, entertained no diſtruſt or ſuſpicion of his conduct. He had prevented the Hurons of Michilimakinac from going to war like the others, and had been negotiating for ſome time with the Iroquois. He concealed however his game with an adroitneſs and ſecreſy, of which few people but ſavages, and eſpecially the Hurons, are capable; and whilſt he went himſelf, with the deputies of the allies, to make to the Governor-General proteſtations of unalterable attachment, he had ſent

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ſent his ſon with thirty warriors, who were entirely at his diſpoſal, to the Tſonnonthouans.

They concluded with this canton a treaty, in which they comprehended the Outaouais; and, when the whole of the intrigue came to light, the party was ſo completely linked together, that it became impoſſible for the Sieur la Motte Cadillac to break the connection. This commander was however ſo far ſucceſsful as to ſuſpend the execution of the treaty, at leaſt on the part of the Outaouais; but the Baron, who had thrown off the maſk, no longer preſerved any meaſures, and the French conſoled themſelves with the reflection, that a declared enemy is much leſs to be feared than a perfidious ally, particularly of the character already deſcribed, whoſe plans were afterwards neither avowed nor adopted by his village.

Another circumſtance diſquieted the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, and engaged him to manage with addreſs a deputation which ſhall preſently be mentioned. The ſavages of his diſtrict continually complained of the high price of the French merchandiſe, which was indeed exorbitant. It is certain that nothing was more diſadvantageous for that people in Canada, particularly in critical conjunctures, than the little attention which was paid to the conduct of thoſe engaged in the commerce, which ſubjected them more

more than once to the hazard of ſeeing their allies, whoſe ſupplies of furs became neceſſary to the exiſtence of that commerce, forſake their alliance for that of the Engliſh. 1695.

The commandant of Michilimakinac, unable of himſelf to remedy that diſorder, of which he was more in a ſituation than any other perſon to foreſee the deſtructive conſequences, wiſhed to impreſs with a full conviction of this important truth the Governor-General and the Intendant, that they might purſue ſuch meaſures as would afford the deſired relief. He ſuggeſted to the deputies, whom he ſent to Montreal under a different pretext, to preſent a collar to demand a diminution of the price of merchandiſe, and to inſiſt on this point as ſo eſſential, that they were reſolved not to depart from it. This they executed, and even went further than the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac intended. They appeared before the Count de Frontenac as a people who propoſed peace or war; and in preſenting their collar they did not diſſemble, that, if he granted not their demand, they ſhould take their reſolution thereupon.

Such a propoſal, delivered with a menacing air, could not be favourably received, and the collar was rejected with diſdain. The General made to the deputies the reproaches which their inſolence merited; but whilſt he touched this ſpring,

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ſpring, he knew how to check it opportunely, and mingled with marks of his diſpleaſure ſuch manners and expreſſions as diſcovered more of kindneſs than of anger. He gave hope to the ſavages that they ſhould receive ſatisfaction with reſpect to the terms of the merchandiſe. But, as in their diſcourſe they delivered themſelves in a manner to induce the perſuaſion that they were not much diſpoſed, independently of this article, to continue in a ſtate of warfare, the General teſtified great compaſſion for that blindneſs, which had deprived them of the view of their real intereſts. He added, that for his own part he was reſolved to make war: that he would have been happy to have witneſſed all his children join him, to avenge the blood of a great number of their brethren; but he was not in want of their aſſiſtance: that he could not better puniſh them for their indocility, than in leaving them at liberty to follow their inclinations: that he wiſhed only to impreſs them with the truth of the advice he had already given, that the Iroquois could never have any other views with reſpect to them but their deſtruction, and that experience ought to have made them ſenſible, that that people ſought to detach them from his alliance, only to arrive with greater facility at the execution of their purpoſe.

A degree

A degree of firmneſs ſo ſeaſonable aſtoniſhed the deputies, and afforded particularly to the Huron chief ample matter for reflection, but did not induce him to break the ſilence which he had hitherto preſerved: he contented himſelf with ſaying, that he was not charged with any ſpecial meſſage on that head, on the part of his nation: that his orders extended no further than to hear what his father Ononthio would be pleaſed to ſay, that he might make a report to his brethren. The General however, who had been inſtructed with regard to his ſecret practices, told him that it was in vain to diſſemble: that he well knew his intentions, of which he was under no apprehenſion. The Outaouais and the Nifriſſongs then conjured M. de Frontenac to be well perſuaded that they had no ſhare in the intentions of that perſon, who might merit his diſpleaſure, and added, that they would not return to their country, but were reſolved to remain near their father, to be witneſſes of the enterpriſe which he was about to execute. BOOK VI. 1695.

Some time before M. le Sueur had conducted to Montreal a large convoy from the weſtern extremity of Lake Superior. Whilſt M. de Frontenac was giving audience to the ſavages who had accompanied him, a Siou chief approached him with an air of ſadneſs, ſupported his hands on his knees, and, with tears in his eyes,

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1695. eyes, conjured him to have compaſſion on him: that all the other nations poſſeſſed a father, and that he alone was like an abandoned child. He then ſtretched out a robe of beaver, on which having placed twenty-two arrows, he took them up one after the other, named at each a village of his nation, and demanded of the General to be pleaſed to take them under his protection. The Count de Frontenac gave him a promiſe to that effect. But no means were afterwards taken to maintain theſe people in the alliance of the French. Conſiderable advantages might have been derived from thence, by a traffic for leather and for wool, the vaſt plains which they inhabit being covered with wild cattle.

1696. The ſentiments of the court with reſpect to the wars with the Iroquois were now fully explained by M. de Pontchartrain the miniſter. Theſe continued acts of hoſtility appeared to proceed from a jealouſy which prevailed with regard to a ſuperiority in commerce for furs, with the nations of the upper country, between the inhabitants of Canada and thoſe of New York; the ſituation of the Iroquois giving them great advantages in carrying on that traffic. It was believed alſo, that the alienation of the Outaouais and of the other natives of theſe diſtant quarters, was occaſioned by the French penetrating into their territories, and uſurping the commerce which

which theſe nations carried on with others more advanced towards the north. That the paſſion for traverſing the woods of Canada, more unreſtrained than ever, notwithſtanding frequent prohibitions to the contrary, was the ſource of all the misfortunes of the colony, and had created eſtabliſhments too remote from each other, which diſſipated and weakened the population, and overturned the views which the King entertained of uniting the inhabitants within more circumſcribed limits, and of applying their attention to induſtry and the cultivation of the lands. 1696.

It was added, that the King, after having conſidered the repreſentation of M. M. Frontenac and Champigny relative to the ill-affected diſpoſition of the allies towards the French government, and to the difficulties and immenſe expence of maintaining a communication with them in time of war, had reſolved, from the advice of thoſe who were acquainted with the nature of the country, to abandon Michilimakinac, and the other advanced poſts, except Fort Louis of the Ilinois, which he was inclined to maintain, on condition that the Sieurs Forêt and de Tonti, on whom he had beſtowed this conceſſion, ſhould neither of themſelves tranſport, or cauſe to be tranſported, any beaver ſkins into the colony.

The

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The commerce of New France was, doubtleſs, much injured by the Canadians over-running the territories of the ſavages, and there introducing a ſpirit of licentiouſneſs, which rendered their country deteſted by all the people of the continent, and erected an unſurmountable barrier to the progreſs of religion. But the remedies which the King propoſed to apply, were by no means practicable from the circumſtances of the colony, ſince it was certain that the advanced poſts would have been no ſooner evacuated, than they would have been ſeized by the Engliſh, whom all the ſavages eſtabliſhed in their vicinity would have joined. Thus the Engliſh and the Iroquois, ſtrengthened by ſuch an acquiſition of force, would in one campaign have driven the French out of Canada.

On the other hand, M. de Frontenac became at length convinced of the indiſpenſible neceſſity of making an effort to humble the Iroquois. He was alſo perſuaded of it from the diſpoſitions which they evinced in the laſt audience which he gave to the deputies of that nation; but what moſt of all determined him to make his appearance in the cantons with all his force, was the advice which he had received from all quarters of the bad effects which the inaction of the French every where produced, notwithſtanding the hopes with which their allies had for a long

time been flattered, of a great expedition againſt the common enemy. BOOK VI.

Having taken this reſolution, he made it known to the commandant of Michilimakinac by a Frenchman, who ſet out with the deputies of the Outaouais on their return to their country. The meſſenger found the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac in great embarraſſment. Ambaſſadors from the Iroquois had been received by the ſavages of his poſt, and had obtained from them all that they wiſhed; an effect of the intrigues of the Baron. They not only had concluded a treaty of peace with the Hurons and the Outaouais, but they had induced them to adopt the determination of uniting themſelves to the enemies of the French. 1696.

La Motte Cadillac had in vain attempted to gain admiſſion to their conference; but Onaſké, chief of the Outaouais Kiſkakons, had acquainted him with every thing that paſſed between them. It only now remained to diſconcert their intrigues, which became ſtill more difficult after the return of the deputies who had been at Montreal, and during whoſe abſence the whole had been carried on. Theſe deputies publiſhed on their arrival, that all the French were dead: this is an expreſſion in uſe among the ſavages to indicate that affairs are in a ſtate of deſpair. They particularly affirmed, that the French

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dared not to make their appearance at ſea, that they poſſeſſed neither wine, nor brandy, and that they had ſuffered the deputies to return in the ſame ſhirts which they had brought to Montreal, Ononthio not finding himſelf in a ſituation to preſent them with others. In this unpleaſant conjuncture la Motte Cadillac did not give himſelf up to deſpondency. The Frenchman who had accompanied the deputies having put into his hands letters from the Governor-General, informing him of ſeveral advantages which had been gained by the French over the Iroquois, he made an advantageous uſe of this intelligence. He then declared, that, notwithſtanding the ſcarcity of merchandiſe, occaſioned by the delay of veſſels expected from France, which the contrary winds, and not the fear of the Engliſh, had prevented from arriving at the uſual time, he would give all the articles that remained in the magazines at the ſame price at which they had hitherto been ſold, and that he would likewiſe deliver them upon credit. This propoſal had a good effect: Onaſké and ſome other emiſſaries of the commandant, took advantage of it to open the eyes of ſuch as were moſt prejudiced by the conſequences of the negotiations in which they had engaged, and when the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac ſaw them beginning to waver, he called them together. He told them, that if they would

reflect

reflect on his conduct ſince he had reſided among them, they would be convinced that he had not deceived them, as they ſuppoſed, and had been complained of in terms of little reſpect; but that they had ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced by malevolent ſpirits, whom they ought to have regarded with diſtruſt. As he perceived that theſe reproaches affected them, he thought it unneceſſary to make a longer diſcourſe, and without allowing them time to conſult, he propoſed to them to detach ſeveral parties againſt the Iroquois, who were then on hunting expeditions with the Hurons, and ſome Outaouaiſians. Such is the unfortunate ſituation of thoſe whoſe lot it is to govern barbarians without faith, and deſtitute of principles of honour, that they can never place reliance on their promiſes, nor frequently find any other means to avoid becoming the victims of their perfidy, than in the little regard, proceeding from a principle of natural levity, that they pay to their political ties. The Outaouais violated the faith which they had frequently ſworn to maintain with the French; new engagements had attached them to the Iroquois, and they ſuddenly became again their enemies.

Scarcely had la Motte Cadillac ceaſed from ſpeaking, when Onaſké Ouillamek, a chief of Pontouatami, and an Algonquin named Mikinac, having declared themſelves chiefs of the enterpriſe,

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preſently aſſembled a conſiderable number of warriors. Some Hurons immediately haſtened to inform the Iroquois, who took to flight, but the Outaouais made ſuch haſte that they overtook them. A combat began with much ferocity on the borders of a river, into which the Iroquois were obliged to throw themſelves, and ſeek for ſafety by ſwimming. The victors brought to Michilimakinac thirty ſcalps, and thirty-two priſoners, with a booty of five hundred beaver ſkins. Several Hurons were among the number of priſoners, who were delivered up to their nation, which appeared ſenſible of that mark of reſpect.

After an event of ſuch conſequence, it was not to be apprehended that the Outaouais would ſoon come to an accommodation with the Iroquois, nor with the Engliſh, on whom the loſs of the booty fell, becauſe they had advanced their merchandiſe to the Iroquois for the future produce of their chace.

Some time afterwards M. d'Agenteuil arrived at Michilimakinac, and there publiſhed an account of great preparations which M. de Frontenac was making, with a deſign to attack the Iroquois in their country. M. de la Motte Cadillac invited the ſavages to join their father; but he made known to them, that he gave this invitation of himſelf, without having received any

any order on the ſubject from the General. Onaſké then declared, that he would go forth to fight under the banner of Ononthio, and the commandant flattered himſelf for a time that a body of four hundred warriors would march to ſtrengthen the French army; but various incidents rendered theſe expectations ineffectual, and it was believed that the Hurons had ſecretly oppoſed the meaſure, in order to avenge themſelves of the affront which they had received by the defeat of the Iroquois.

There were many different opinions reſpecting the plan to be purſued in order to inſure the ſucceſs of an expedition ſo deſirable, by which it was hoped to put an end to a war which had frequently brought the colony to the verge of ruin, which impeded its progreſs, and by means of which the Engliſh conſiderably augmented their commerce, and eſtabliſhed their power on the continent of North America. The choice of the time for commencing the operations was principally the ſubject on which they who were to conduct them were not agreed. Many conceived, that the winter was the fitteſt period to fall upon the canton of Onnontagué with all the forces of the colony, in order to have time to complete in one campaign the deſtruction of all the other cantons. But the Chevalier de Callieres entertained different ſentiments. He told

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the General, that he would not find a ſufficient number of perſons who could march on ſnow ſhoes, carry and drag proviſions and ammunition for ſuch a diſtance, and deſtroy a village ſituated in the middle of an enemy's country, where it was eaſy for the Iroquois to aſſemble in a ſhort time all their warriors, and to fortify themſelves in ſuch manner as to ſtop for a conſiderable period the progreſs of the French army. He added, that although they might force their intrenchments, the enemy could eaſily prepare ambuſcades for troops loaded with baggage, and might harraſs them even to the gates of Montreal: that it was better to await the arrival of ſummer, and then nothing could impede the march of all the troops, the militia, and domiciliated ſavages, who would compoſe a body capable of facing the enemy on every ſide, and of executing whatever was intended: that it might be nevertheleſs attended with advantage, that a detachment ſhould in the mean time proceed upon the ice to attack the Agniers, who were the neareſt, and who having no expectation of ſuch an enterpriſe might be eaſily ſurpriſed.

The General adopted this advice, becauſe the ſeaſon was ſo unfavourable in the month of January, that from Quebec there was no poſſibility of travelling on the river St. Lawrence, either on foot,

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foot, or in a cariole, or in canoes. He ordered the Governor of Montreal to ſend five or ſix hundred men, to be ſupplied by his government and that of Three Rivers, againſt the canton of Agnier. This party was ſoon in readineſs, and was on the point of marching, when authentic advice was received that their intention was diſcovered, and that the Agniers had taken the precaution to procure aſſiſtance not only from the other cantons, but likewiſe from the Engliſh of New York.

M. de Callieres then ſent a detachment of three hundred men under the command of M. de Louvigny, to proceed to the grand peninſula formed by Outaouais river and the St. Lawrence, and to fall upon the Iroquois huntſmen, who uſually reſorted thither in great numbers at that ſeaſon of the year. He was ſtopped not far from Montreal by the quantity of ſnow, which fell that year in much greater abundance than uſual. He afterwards continued his rout, until within five leagues of Cataracony, with incredible fatigue, finding the ſnow ſoft, and of the height of ſix or ſeven feet. He detached from thence ſome ſavages on diſcovery, who after ſeven or eight days' march met with ten Iroquois and a woman, of whom they killed three, and took the reſt priſoners. They were brought to Montreal, where two were burnt, and the others pardoned,

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becauſe ſome Frenchmen, who had been ſlaves in their country, recogniſed them, and teſtified, that to them they owed their lives: they were diſtributed between the villages of Sault Saint Louis, the Mountain, and Lorette.

Some other priſoners who were captured in the ſpring, reported that the Iroquois kept themſelves during the whole winter ſhut up in their forts, and that they intended ſoon to come in conſiderable bands to prevent the French from ſowing their corn. Several parties of theſe barbarians accordingly ſpread themſelves through the ſettlements, but by the precautions of the Governor of Montreal the labours of huſbandry were not interrupted. Some habitations were ſurpriſed by the enemy, in conſequence of want of attention to the orders which had been given.

In the month of May the Chevalier de Callieres deſcended to Quebec, to ſettle with the Count de Frontenac the operations of the campaign, the preparations for which were in a ſtate of forwardneſs; and when all the neceſſary arrangements were made, he returned to Montreal to put in execution what had been agreed on. On the 22d of June the Governor-General there joined him, accompanied by M. de Champigny, the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, M. de Ramazay, Governor of Three Rivers, the troops and militia

militia of the government of Quebec, and of that of Three Rivers. Thoſe of the government of Montreal were already aſſembled, and nothing remained to be done but to begin their march. On the 4th of July ten Outaouais arrived at Montreal from the environs of Onnontagué, where they had for a long time rambled, without having been able to make a ſingle priſoner. At length being informed that a conſiderable party was detached againſt them, they retired to Catarocony, where the Sieur des Jordis, who there commanded, having acquainted them that the French were upon the point of marching, and that the Count de Frontenac had put himſelf at their head, they expreſſed a deſire to accompany him. They therefore came to make offer of their ſervices, which were accepted, in the hope that ſeveral of their countrymen might thereby be induced to join them. They found the General at La Chine, where the army arrived the ſame day, and where five hundred ſavages alſo aſſembled, of whom two diviſions were formed. M. de Maricourt, a captain, had the command of the firſt, compoſed of the Iroquois of Sault Saint Louis, and of the domiciliated Abenaquis. The ſecond, in which were the Hurons of Lorette, and the Iroquois of the Mountains, was commanded by M. de Beauvais, a lieutenant. The ten Outaouais, to whom were joined

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joined ſome Algonquins, Sokokis, and Nipiſſings formed a ſeparate band, with the conduct of which the Baron de Behancourt charged himſelf.

The troops were divided into four battalions of two hundred men each, under the orders of four experienced captains, M. M. de la Durantaye, De Muys, Du Meſnil, and the Chevalier de Grais. Four battalions of militia were alſo formed: that of Quebec was commanded by M. de St. Martin, a reduced captain; that of Beaupré by M. de Grandville, a lieutenant; that of Three Rivers by M. de Grandpré, major of the place; and that of Montreal by M. des Chambauts, attorney-general of that town. M. de Subucaſe, a captain, acted in the ſituation of major of brigade general, and each battalion, as well of troops as of militia, had its brigade major.

On the 6th of July the army encamped in the Ile Perrot, and next day departed from thence in the following order. M. de Callieres led the vanguard, compoſed of the firſt band of ſavages, and of two battalions of troops: it was preceded by two large batteaux, in which was the commiſſary of artillery with two field-pieces, ſome ſmall mortars, and the ammunition. Some canoes conducted by Canadians, accompanied them with all kinds of proviſions. The Count de Frontenac

nac followed, ſurrounded by canoes, which carried his tents and his baggage, his ſervants, and a number of volunteers, having with him M. le Vaſſour, engineer in chief. The four battalions of militia, ſtronger than thoſe of the troops, formed the main body, which M. de Remazay commanded under the General, and the two other battalions of troops, with the ſecond band of ſavages, formed the rear guard, which was under the orders of the Chevalier de Vaudreuil. 1696.

The army ſet out in this order, which was not interrupted during the march, except that the corps which one day formed the advanced guard, formed on another the rear guard, thus alternately changing their poſition. On the 19th it arrived at Cataracony, where it remained until the 26th, waiting for four hundred Outaouais, whom M. de la Motte Cadillac had promiſed to collect, but who did not make their appearance. Some French *Coureurs de Bois* were to have accompanied them, but likewiſe did not come; they dared not probably hazard the journey, believing the country to be infeſted by ſtrong parties of the enemy. Twenty-ſix ſick men were left behind at Cataracony, greateſt part of whom were wounded in aſcending the rapids. On the 28th the army arrived at the mouth of the river Chouguen. As this river is narrow and rapid, the

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the General, before entering it, ſent fifty ſcouts by land on each ſide. The firſt day they only advanced a league and a half. The next the army was ſeparated into two corps, to make more diſpatch, and to occupy both by land and water the two ſides of the river. M. de Frontenac took the left with M. de Vaudreuil, four battalions of troops, and one of militia. M. M. de Callieres and Ramazay, with all the remainder, held the right ſide. On the evening they reunited, after having advanced three leagues, and halted at the bottom of a waterfall, where the river through its whole breadth pours itſelf over a perpendicular rock of twenty-five feet in height, forming a curtain of reſplendent whiteneſs.

The greateſt part of the army was unluckily drawn into the current when proceeding on the journey, above the fall, and was in danger of being carried down the precipice. The Governor of Montreal immediately made all his men leap into the water, drag the batteaux aſhore, carry the cannon by land, and advance the batteaux on rollers, until they arrived to a conſiderable diſtance above the fall. This ſervice, which laſted till ten o'clock in the evening, was performed by the light of flambeaux made of bark. The rapid being completely paſſed, they began to march with more precaution, not only

only becauſe they approached the enemy, but on account of the troops who advanced by land, the roads being very difficult, the Chevalier de Vaudreuil having with his troops marched five leagues along the river, wading up to his knees.

At length the army entered into the lake De Gannentaha, by a place which is called *the Trench*, and which it would have been difficult to force, if the enemy had taken the precaution to poſſeſs themſelves of it. They there found two packets of junks ſuſpended to a tree, which, according to the cuſtom of the ſavages, indicated that fourteen hundred and thirty-four warriors were waiting to engage the French. The army then traverſed the lake in order of battle. M. de Callieres, who commanded on the left, made a feint to deſcend from that quarter where the enemy was, and at the ſame time the Chevalier de Vaudreuil made a ſimilar motion on the right with eight hundred men; then turning round the lake, he joined M. de Callieres. All the reſt of the army then diſembarked.

M. le Vaſſeur immediately traced a fort, which was completed the following day. They there placed the magazine of proviſions, the canoes, and the batteaux, and the guard was committed to the Marquis de Criſaſy and to M. des Bergeres, captains, with fifty choſen men. This expedition

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dition not having been concealed under any pretext foreign to its object, the French could not expect to ſurpriſe the Iroquois. It is true, the incertitude in which they remained with reſpect to the particular quarter on which the ſtorm would fall, kept for a long time the cantons in ſuſpence; but unluckily an inhabitant of the village of the mountain, who had been detached with ſeveral others to make priſoners, communicated to them the real deſign of the French. Another piece of advice which this traitor afterwards gave to the canton of Tſonnonthouan, produced an effect contrary to that which he expected: the Chevalier de Callieres, who was well acquainted with the manner of the ſavages, ſaid, on leaving Cataracony, that the Outaouais would not arrive, becauſe they had been requeſted to attack the canton of Tſonnonthouan, whilſt the army ſhould march to Onnontagué. The deſerter failed not to communicate this news to his countrymen, which was the cauſe that all the warriors remained there for its defence.

The ſame evening a great light was perceived in the quarter of the principal village of the Onnontagués, and it was ſuppoſed, which was afterwards found to be the caſe, that the ſavages had ſet it on fire.

On

On the 3d of Auguſt the army went to encamp at half a league from the place of debarkation in the vicinity of ſome ſalt ſprings. The following day M. de Subercaſe ranged it in order of battle in two lines, and formed the neceſſary detachments for tranſporting the artillery. M. de Callieres commanded the left wing, and the Chevalier de Vaudreuil that of the right: the General was between the two, carried in an arm chair, ſurrounded by his houſehold and the volunteers, having the cannon in his front. The road was difficult, and they arrived not at the village before late at night: they found it reduced to aſhes, and two Frenchmen, who had long been priſoners there, were recently maſſacred. 1696.

What appeared ſtill more extraordinary was, that the enemy had deſtroyed their fort, which they might have defended for a conſiderable time. This fort had been conſtructed by the Engliſh, and was a parallelogram with four baſtions, ſurrounded by a double palliſade, flanked by redoubts, with an outward incloſure of poſts upwards of forty feet in height.

On the morning of the 5th, two women and a child of the village of the mountain, who had been for ſix years captives at Onnontagué, made their eſcape and came to the camp, who gave information that ſeveral days before, all who were

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were not in a condition to carry arms had taken refuge at a league from the camp. In the afternoon of the ſame day a French ſoldier, who had been made priſoner at the ſame time with father Milet, arrived from Onneyouth, charged with a collar on the part of the chiefs of this canton to ſolicit terms of peace. The General ſent him back immediately with a propoſal to thoſe who deputed him, that he would willingly receive their ſubmiſſion, but upon condition that they would come to eſtabliſh themſelves among the French; that they muſt not conceive that he would be amuſed by feigned negotiations, and that he ſhould march with troops to know their final anſwer.

The Chevalier de Vaudreuil accordingly ſet out for this canton, at the head of ſeven hundred men, with orders to cut down the corn, to burn the villages, to receive ſix chiefs in quality of hoſtages, and, in caſe they ſhould make the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, to put to the ſword all whom he could find. On the 16th a young Frenchman, ſeven years a priſoner at Onnontagué, made his eſcape, and diſcovered the place where great quantities of corn and other ſtores, which the enemy were unable to carry off, were concealed. They were ſeized upon, the ſtanding corn cut down, and a ſcene of devaſtation carried on for two ſucceſſive days.

On

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On the 8th, an Onnontagué, aged near a hundred years, was taken in the woods, being unable to eſcape with the others, or perhaps not having the inclination to provide for his ſafety; for it appeared that he there awaited with intrepidity the approach of death. He was delivered into the hands of the ſavages, who without regard to his extraordinary age, diſcharged upon him the reſentment which the flight of his countrymen had excited. It was doubtleſs a ſingular ſpectacle to behold more than four hundred men venting their rage againſt an object worn down by age and decrepitude, from whom by the force of torture they were unable to extract a ſigh, and who ceaſed not while he lived to reproach them with being the ſlaves of the French, of whom he affected to ſpeak in terms of the greateſt contempt. The only complaint that eſcaped from his lips, was, that when from motives of compaſſion, or perhaps of rage, one of them ſtabbed him repeatedly with a knife to put an end to his exiſtence, "Thou oughtſt not," ſaid he, "to abridge my life, that thou mightſt have time to learn to die like a man. For my own part, I die contented, becauſe I know no meanneſs with which to reproach myſelf."

On the 9th M. de Vaudreuil, after having burnt the fort and villages of the canton of Onneyouth, returned to the camp with thirty-

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five men, moſt of them French priſoners whom he had liberated. He was accompanied by ſome of the principal chiefs of the canton, who came to place themſelves at the mercy of M. de Frontenac. This General gave them a favourable reception, in the hope of drawing over others, but his expectation was vain. There was found among this party a young Agnier, who had come to Onneyouth to ſee what was paſſing: he was recogniſed to have deſerted the preceding winter from the village of the mountain, and was burnt. A council of war was aſſembled to deliberate on what ſhould be done, in order more effectually to terminate the expedition, and it was reſolved to treat the canton of Goyogouin in the ſame manner as they had done thoſe of Onnontagué and Onneyouth, and afterwards to conſtruct forts, to prevent the ſavages from re-eſtabliſhing themſelves in thoſe quarters. The Chevalier de Callieres made offer to remain in that country during winter, in order to execute the project. But the General afterwards altered his intention, and ordered a diſpoſition to be made for returning to Montreal.

In vain did M. de Callieres repreſent to him that they ought at leaſt, before leaving the country, to reduce the Goyogouins, the moſt fierce of all the Iroquois, and the leaſt difficult to overcome. That for this purpoſe they had only to deſcend

deſcend a fine river which conducted to that canton, and that a part of the army only was neceſſary for this expedition. The General however perſiſted in his reſolution to return, which created much diſcontent, and they who leaſt concealed their ſentiments were the Canadians, and the Iroquois of the Sault Saint Louis. 1696.

The Count de Frontenac paid no attention to theſe murmurs of diſapprobation. He departed on the 9th, and encamped at two leagues from his fort, which he reached on the following day, and raſed it to the foundation. On the 20th he arrived at Montreal, having loſt no more than ſix men in his expedition, ſome of whom were drowned in the rapids. He believed he had effected much in humiliating the Iroquois; but as he was informed that the ſcarcity of proviſions was not leſs great in the cantons where he had not penetrated, than in thoſe he had ravaged, and that New York was by no means in a ſtate to aſſiſt them; he hoped that this nation, in order to avoid its total ruin, would accept ſuch conditions of peace as he would be pleaſed to beſtow. That he might more fully conſtrain them to this neceſſity, he reſolved to proſecute the war, and having allowed his army time to repoſe after its fatigues, he formed ſeveral detachments, who haraſſed the enemy until the end of autumn. 1697.

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M. de Frontenac juſtly conceived that the Iroquois, whom he had more ſtunned than ſubdued, would not fail to reſume their ferocity, and to ſhew themſelves on the frontiers of the colony. But no project which he had formed to complete their humiliation ſucceeded, and the affairs of the province, on account of that war, were ſoon found to be in the ſame ſituation in which they were before he made his laſt campaign with a force more than ſufficient effectually to ruin the cantons.

The Chevalier de Callieres had received orders, towards the end of autumn, to raiſe in his government a conſiderable body of men, and to ſend them over the ice to act againſt the Agniers; but the want of proviſions rendered this ſcheme impracticable, the crop having been very unproductive.

Some parties however went out to harraſs the enemy, and took the rout to New York. One named Dubos, who conducted one of theſe bodies, after having fought for ſome time, with much valour, againſt the Mahingans and Agniers with ſucceſs, fell into an ambuſcade near to Orange. Out of ſixteen, the number of which it conſiſted, ten were killed on the ſpot, Dubos and three others were wounded, taken, and brought to Orange; two more of the party never afterwards were heard of.

A ſecond

A ſecond band of ſeven or eight Frenchmen were not more happy. It was met by ſavages of the mountain, who took them for Engliſh, and charged them. Two were killed before the error was diſcovered, and the great chief of the mountain, named Totathiron, periſhed, which was a great loſs to the colony. BOOK VI. 1697.

Thirty-three Onneyouths arrived at Montreal on the 5th of February, who ſaid that they had come to acquit themſelves of the promiſe which they had made to their father, to rank themſelves with the number of his children; that all the other inhabitants of the canton had charged them to aſſure him, that the reſt of their nation would have followed them, if the Agnier and Onnontagué had not diſſuaded them; that they had not however changed their mind, and if Ononthio would be pleaſed to ſend to them, they would not fail to come; that they were reſolved to ſettle in whatever place he ſhould aſſign them, wiſhing only to preſerve the diſtinctive name of their nation. They requeſted they might be allowed Father Milet as their miſſionary.

M. de Callieres received them favourably, and wrote to the Count de Frontenac to know his intention on the ſubject. He received thereupon an order to ſend back their chief to Onneyouth, that he might inform his countrymen of

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the good reception with which he had met, and to engage the whole to follow his example.

This negotiation, and the conduct of the Onneyouths who had gone to Montreal, had occaſioned great umbrage to the other cantons, and the Onnontagués put themſelves in motion to oppoſe their reſolution. The Agniers, more impatient than the others to know in what ſituation matters were with reſpect to the Onneyouths, ſent two of their people to Quebec, on pretext of conducting thither two young ladies who had been captured the preceding year at Sorel. They gave intelligence that the Iroquois were beginning to recover from their terror; that the Engliſh had made preſents to the Onnontagués to indemnify them for their loſſes, and to engage them to re-build their village; and that they expected to be able to ſow in the enſuing ſpring the ſame fields which the French had ravaged.

The two Agniers on their part demanded, in a haughty tone, of the Count de Frontenac, if the road from their canton to Quebec ſhould be open. The General anſwered, that the firſt Iroquois who ſhould have the inſolence to ſpeak to him in that manner ſhould be inſtantly puniſhed: that he nevertheleſs pardoned them, in conſideration of the two captives which they had reſtored him, but that they muſt accuſtom themſelves

ſelves to ſpeak in a more mild and humble tone before him: that he would no further liſten to them until they were perfectly ſubmiſſive to his pleaſure, and until they ſhould have reſtored all the Frenchmen who were priſoners among them. 1697.

They were detained during the remainder of the winter leſt they ſhould inform their countrymen of the places where the allies had gone to the chace, and in the mean time ſmall parties were ordered out from Montreal to harraſs the enemy, and to endeavour to learn what was paſſing in the cantons, and at New York.

The Iroquois ſoon perceived that it was not intended to make any further ſerious attempt to trouble them, and ſpread themſelves every where over the country. This circumſtance obliged the Governor of Montreal to increaſe his parties which he ſent againſt them, and he thus ſucceeded in breaking all their meaſures.

A conſiderable number of the Miamis, inhabiting the banks of the river Maramek, one of thoſe which diſcharges itſelf into the eaſtern part of Lake Michigan, had left that part of the country in the month of Auguſt of the preceding year, to unite themſelves with their countrymen eſtabliſhed on the river St. Joſeph, and had been attacked on the way by ſome Sioux, who had killed ſeveral of their number. The Miamis of

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1697. St. Joſeph, informed of this act of hoſtility, went into the country of the Sioux, and attacked a ſituation where a number of that people were entrenched with ſome Frenchmen, who belonged to that claſs called *Coureurs de Bois*.

They made ſeveral aſſaults with great reſolution, but they were always driven back, and obliged at length to retreat, after having loſt ſome of the braveſt of their warriors. In returning home they met with other Frenchmen, who were carrying arms and ammunition to the Sioux; they took from them every thing they had, without doing them further miſchief. They afterwards made known to the Outaouais what had happened, who ſent a deputation to the Count de Frontenac, to repreſent to him that it was abſolutely neceſſary to appeaſe the Miamis, whoſe diſcontent was ſo ſtrong that it might induce them to join with the Iroquois. The General made ſuch an anſwer to the deputies as was proper in a conjuncture ſo delicate, and took ſuch meaſures as he conceived would prevent any ill conſequences from that unfortunate affair. They reſtrained not however the Miamis from continuing to uſe repriſals, when occaſion preſented itſelf. The former complaints againſt running throughout the woods, and the laſt repreſentations of all thoſe inhabitants who were zealous of preſerving good order in the colony, had

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had the deſired effect. So late as the foregoing year, the King had expreſsly forbid the Governor-General to permit any Frenchman to aſcend into the countries of the ſavages, with a view of trading there. Some of the council of Canada were of opinion, that the King ſhould be ſupplicated to limit this reſtraint. It was ſuggeſted that a middle line might be adopted, which was not to maintain among the diſtant ſavage nations more than two poſts, Michilimakinac and the river St. Joſeph; to limit the number of Frenchmen who ſhould be permitted to go thither, and to take various other precautions, which ſhould afterwards be pointed out, to ſtop the abuſe, of which it was with reaſon complained.

M. de Frontenac was far from approving of theſe temperate meaſures, which diminiſhed his authority, and as he conceived that, in literally obeying the order which has been mentioned, inconveniences would happen, which would oblige the council of the King to bring back matters to their former footing, he acquainted the miniſter, that in order to conform to the intentions of his majeſty, he would recal all Frenchmen from the diſtant poſts; but the unhappy affair of the Miamis, cauſed by the *Coureurs de Bois*, made him fear that even the propoſal of retaining only two forts would not be accepted, and that they who had awakened the zeal of the Prince,

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Prince, would take advantage of this new incident to ſolicit the entire execution of the laſt orders of the court.

The General therefore began to think the modifications which had been propoſed more reaſonable, becauſe they at leaſt preſerved to him a part of the whole, which he was upon the point of loſing, and he joined thoſe who had given theſe propoſals in repreſenting to the miniſtry, that there exiſted an indiſpenſible neceſſity for not touching the poſts of Michilimakinac and of the river St. Joſeph, and that an officer and twelve men ought to be maintained in each.

That it was not practicable to ſupport thoſe poſts, if at leaſt twenty-five canoes, laden with merchandiſe, were not ſent thither every year. That for the ſafety of the miſſionaries, it was neceſſary to detach troops from time to time among the ſavages. That the licences for vending merchandiſe to Upper Canada were a reſource for relieving the indigence of many reſpectable families to whom they were given, and who ſold them to the merchants and *voyageurs*; and that if this dependence was cut off, another mode of proviſion for their ſuſtenance muſt be deviſed. In fine, that theſe voyages ſerved to retain in the country a number of young men, who were of no other employment, and who, if they could not proſecute this, would go in ſearch of ſubſiſtence

in

in the Engliſh colonies, which would add ſtrength to thoſe, and proportionably enfeeble the French. BOOK VI. 1697.

Some of this reaſoning was not altogether ſound, and part of it proved that there exiſted evils, to which it was dangerous to apply too ſudden a remedy. After having weighed the whole, the council concluded, that to abandon the poſts, after having eſtabliſhed and ſupported them with great expence, and after giving reaſon for the allied ſavages to look upon them as a great advantage to their reſpective nations, would expoſe theſe people to the temptation of giving themſelves wholely to the Engliſh.

Several merchants had, a conſiderable time before this period, aſſociated themſelves for the purpoſe of carrying into effect the eſtabliſhment of a fiſhery in Canada, but had not been able to aſcertain the place which ſhould ſeem beſt adapted, and the ſafeſt for an enterpriſe of this nature. The perſon who firſt ſuggeſted the plan was the Sieur Reverin, a man of an enlightened, active, and enterpriſing mind, whom obſtacles could not eaſily diſcourage or depreſs. The harbour of Mont Louis, ſituated on the ſouthern coaſt of the river St. Lawrence, amongſt the mountains of *Notre Dame*, and nearly half way between Quebec and the extremity of the gulph, was choſen as the moſt convenient place for this purpoſe.

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purpoſe. In this harbour, which is at the mouth of a river, the anchoring ground is good, and the veſſels which may lie in the road are expoſed to no wind except from the north, which ſeldom blows during ſummer. The river is capable of receiving veſſels of one hundred tons burden. They are there ſheltered in every quarter, from ſtormy weather and from an enemy, becauſe it can only be entered at high water; and when the tide is low, there only remain in the entrance two feet of water, although in the river itſelf veſſels may be a-float. It has alſo the advantage of being eaſily defended, having on one ſide inacceſſible mountains, and on the other a point of land about three or four hundred yards in length, forming a peninſula, upon which a fort might be conſtructed. This is a ſituation well calculated for drying the fiſh, which are in ſufficient plenty on this ſide the river, throughout an extent of many leagues, from Cape Roſiers at the entrance of the St. Lawrence, as far as the river Matane. Whales may likewiſe be caught fifteen leagues higher up. The ſoil near Mont Louis is capable of producing corn, and the paſturage is ſufficiently good.

All the veſſels which aſcend to Quebec paſs in view of Mont Louis, and conſiderable advantages might be derived from ſettling this poſt, where veſſels in want of water and proviſions,

in

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in ſo long a navigation as that of the St. Lawrence, might procure thoſe neceſſary articles. A ſlate quarry was alſo diſcovered there, which might have been worked with ſucceſs, had that ſpecies of covering been in uſe for the towns in Canada, whereby conflagrations would have been rendered leſs frequent and dreadful than they have always been, from ſuch quantities of wood being employed in the conſtruction of the buildings.

Some of the inhabitants being adviſed to fiſh in the harbour of Mont Louis, caught a great abundance of cod, although in want of many things neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking, and it was from the favourable report made by them that the company of the Sieurs Reverin agreed to form a ſettlement in that ſituation.

Every thing being prepared for entering upon this project, many inhabitants ſet out in boats for Mont Louis, and a veſſel loaded with ſalt and all kinds of proviſions was at anchor in the road of Quebec, waiting for a fair wind, when, towards the end of May, the Count de Frontenac received an order to be upon his guard againſt the Engliſh, and not to ſuffer any veſſel to deſcend the river. This ſituation of affairs, inauſpicious to the enterpriſe of M. de Reverin, diſcouraged his aſſociates. Continuing however reſolute for its execution, he gave every encou-

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ragement in his power to thoſe who had already gone thither, and in the following year the fiſhery and the harveſt were ſo plentiful, as fully to anſwer every expectation which had been formed.

By the laſt veſſels which arrived this year from France, the Governor received a new order from the King, which occaſioned him conſiderable diſquiet; it contained an abſolute prohibition againſt any officer or ſoldier who ſhould be detached to the diſtant poſts, carrying on any commerce, on pain, for the officers, of being caſhiered; and for the ſoldiers, of being ſent to the galleys. The ſame penalty was extended to the *voyageurs*, none of whom the King would ſuffer to go into thoſe parts, enjoining the commandants of forts to arreſt all whom they ſhould find, and to ſend them to Quebec for trial.

M. de Frontenac was unwilling to act to the extent of this order, perſuaded of the evil conſequences that would attend its execution. And as the firſt publication of it had excited murmurs and movements of diſcontent, he conceived himſelf juſtifiable in making remonſtrances therefrom to the council. They produced however no effect, and M. Ponchartrain anſwered him to the following purpoſe:

That he had placed too great a reliance on the repreſentations of perſons, who, from a principle

principle of avidity were intereſted in ſupporting the traffic in the woods, and that if he had attentively reflected on the inconveniences which it was the means of introducing, he would have been more inclined to condemn a practice whoſe tendency was ſo pernicious. That by relinquiſhing this mode of carrying on commerce, the ſavage allies would not, as had been aſſerted, join themſelves to the Iroquois, and make war upon the French: that, on the contrary, ſuch a meaſure would produce a very different effect, provided pains were taken to explain to the ſavages, that his majeſty, in iſſuing this prohibition, intended they ſhould receive the merchandiſe of the French at the firſt hand, be permitted to ſell their furs with entire liberty, and procure to themſelves the profits of commerce with the ſavage nations who were more remote. That his recollection of the events which had taken place in Canada, might perhaps ſerve to convince him that the war which had been ſo long ſuſtained againſt the Iroquois with ſo much trouble and expence, aroſe principally from the plans which M. de la Barre had adopted of eſtabliſhing a commerce with the remote nations. That theſe ſavages who had long been in alliance with the Engliſh, would not fail ſoon to declare againſt them, if the latter paſſed through their

territory

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territory to traffic directly with the distant savage nations.

1697. The preservation of the advanced posts, to which the King had consented, on the representations of the Intendant and of the Governor of Montreal, soon however procured the re-establishment of the licences, and of the commerce which it was the intention of ministers to abolish.

The Governor-General began now to entertain the hope of an approaching and durable peace with the Iroquois, because both they and the English had experienced great disadvantages during the last campaign, which the Abinaquis had terminated by a vigorous enterprise, having made themselves masters, with the hatchet in their hand, of a fort which was only six leagues from the capital of New England, and the garrison of which had all been killed or captured. About the same time a party of Iroquois having gone with a view to surprise the Outaouais, were discovered, and entirely defeated by the Hurons.

But what tended to complete the consternation of these ferocious enemies, was a check which they received in the vicinity of Cataracony. The *Chaudiere Noire*, an Onnontagué captain, and first chief of all the Iroquois nations,

tions, who poſſeſſed the higheſt credit of his countrymen, approached the fort with about forty warriors, under pretence of hunting; and the better to conceal his intentions, he ſent to acquaint M. de la Gameraye who commanded there, that the ancients of the four upper cantons were upon the point of departing for Quebec to conclude a peace. This indeed was true, as theſe were the deputies of whom mention has already been made. But as he was known for a perſonal enemy of the French, and as his envoys had the imprudence to add, that the Iroquois youth were gone to attack the Outaouais, to avenge themſelves for the great loſſes which theſe ſavages for upwards of a year had occaſioned them, it was not doubted that he had ſome hoſtile deſign. M. de la Gameraye would not, however, attack him at a period when he knew the General was actually negotiating with the cantons. He was contented with keeping a ſtrict obſervation on the conduct of the Iroquois chief, and by acquainting the General of what was going forward. 1697.

He received for anſwer, that he was not to act hoſtilely againſt the Iroquois, but to endeavour to get poſſeſſion in a tranquil manner of ſome of the chiefs belonging to the party of the Chaudiere Noire, and to ſend them to Quebec.

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1697. Whilſt the Iroquois, with full confidence of their ſecurity, were employed in the chace, near Catarocony, thirty-four Algonquins ſurpriſed them at the Bay of Quinté, killed one half their number, among whom was the chief himſelf, and captured his wife with ſome other priſoners.

BOOK VII.

Death of Oureoharé at Quebec.—Meſſage of the Governor of New York.—Anſwer.—Propoſal for the Re-eſtabliſhment of Peace with the Cantons.—Death of Louis de Bouade, Count de Frontenac.—Continuation of his Character.—The Chevalier de Callieres, Governor-General.—Deputies of the Iroquois and of the Allies attend a Conference at Montreal.—Treaty of Peace entered into between the Governor-General and the Savages.—Death of M. de Callieres.—His Character.—Succeeded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil.—Conference of the Outaouais and Iroquois at Montreal.—Tumult at Detroit.—A Party of the French and Savages attack and burn a Fort of the Engliſh.—Expeditions of the Engliſh, and of the French.

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1697.

OUREOHARE, who arrived at Quebec, aſſured the General that his canton of Goyogouin was ſincerely diſpoſed for peace. A few days afterwards he fell ſick of a pleuriſy, which quickly carried him off. He died a Chriſtian, and was buried with the ſame honours as are uſually paid to captains of companies. This ſavage was of an amiable diſpoſition, and received, whenever he came to Quebec or Montreal, many teſtimonies of kindneſs. The General much regretted his death, as he had always

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1697. reckoned upon his credit for the concluſion of an accommodation with the Iroquois, an event which he had much at heart, and which he always entertained the hope of being able to effect.

1698. In the month of February four Engliſhmen arrived at Montreal, from Orange, in order to treat for the exchange of priſoners, and it was from them that the firſt intelligence was received of peace being concluded between the powers of Europe. This was afterwards confirmed in the month of May by Colonel Schuyler, major of Orange, and M. Delius, a clergyman, who brought with them nineteen French priſoners. They preſented alſo to M. de Frontenac a letter from the Governor of New England to the following purport:

That he begged leave to acquaint him of peace having been concluded between the allied powers and his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the articles of which he incloſed. That he had ſent the two gentlemen who would deliver his letter, to teſtify the marks of his eſteem, and to conduct to Quebec all the French priſoners whom he could find in New England. That he would ſend an order to the Indians to liberate as ſoon as poſſible all the ſubjects of France, priſoners in their country, and if it ſhould be found neceſſary, he would cauſe them to be eſcorted in ſafety to Montreal,

not

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not doubting that the Count de Frontenac would, on his part, releaſe all the ſubjects of England, as well Chriſtians as Indians, that a good correſpondence and a free communication, which are the uſual fruits of peace, might be renewed on both ſides, conformably to the union which it had cauſed between the kings of England and France.

The French General ſaid in reply, that although he had not received on the part of the King his maſter a confirmation of peace, he would make no difficulty to reſtore to M. Schuyler and Delius ſuch of the Engliſh and Dutch as were priſoners in his government, and who were inclined to return to their country. That he could not deliver up the Iroquois priſoners upon a promiſe of the French, who were among that people, being reſtored. That ſince laſt autumn he had been negotiating with them, and hoſtages being left in token of fulfilment of their promiſe, it was with them alone he could ſettle that buſineſs. That his orders with regard to this point were ſo preciſe, that he could not depart from that principle, or pretend to ſet it aſide. That any difficulty which might ariſe from this article would not, he hoped, alter the good underſtanding which he wiſhed ſhould be maintained between the two colonies.

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About two months afterwards ſome of the Iroquois of the Sault Saint Louis came to communicate to the General intelligence reſpecting the Agniers, which afforded much ſatisfaction. They had newly arrived from this canton, where they had been to viſit their relations, a duty which theſe ſavages, even in times of the moſt active hoſtility, could not refrain from performing.

They reported, that during their ſtay in that canton the Governor-General of New England there held a great council, at which the ancients of the five cantons aſſiſted: that the Agniers had ſet out with declaring that they were the ſole maſters of their territories, where they had been eſtabliſhed long before the appearance of the Engliſh in America: that to ſhew him that all the places occupied by the nation belonged to it alone, they conſigned to the flames all the papers which had been given them, or which they had ſigned on different occaſions.

They at the ſame time made a propoſal which tended to ſoften this mortification, and induced him to diſſemble his reſentment: this was, to detain the ſavages of the Sault Saint Louis who were amongſt them until the Count de Frontenac ſhould reſtore all the Iroquois priſoners. He would not however conſent to this breach of faith,

faith, leſt the odium ſhould be attached to himſelf. He even added, that the cantons ought not to be ſurpriſed if their affairs were in ſo bad a ſtate; and, to procure peace with the French, they ought to demand it by a general deputation from the five cantons: that he wiſhed to procure them peace, which had now become neceſſary for their own preſervation; but that to place him in a ſituation to terminate this important object with advantage, it was neceſſary they ſhould deliver into his care all their priſoners, whom he would engage to conduct in ſafety to Montreal. He then told them, that he knew they were always at war with nations who ſtiled themſelves the allies of the French: that he would leave them at liberty to proſecute it, or to make peace; but that he prohibited them from engaging in any acts of hoſtility againſt the French, and againſt their domiciliated ſavages. Addreſſing himſelf afterwards to the Iroquois of the Sault Saint Louis, he ſaid, that he was happy to ſee them in his territory, that they ſhould always be welcome there, and that they muſt bury in oblivion all former enmity. He accompanied theſe marks of kindneſs by preſents, which were accepted; but they told him that they could give him no ſatisfactory anſwer, nor enter into any arrangement with him, becauſe they had to this

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effect no commiſſion from their ancients, nor from their father Ononthio.

The ancients agreed to the propoſal, but without ſpecifying the particular period at which its operation ſhould begin. The General comprehended that the Engliſh Governor and the Iroquois mutually preſerved a deſire of tranquillity, whilſt at the ſame time they entertained for each other ſentiments of diſtruſt. That the latter were ſatisfied with the ſupport of the former, only to be able to procure better terms, and that the Engliſh Governor was inclined to take advantage of the conjuncture of affairs, to eſtabliſh over the cantons the right of ſovereignty of the crown of England. It would not, he conceived, be impracticable to make an advantageous uſe of theſe diſpoſitions on either ſide, and for this end the moſt certain means would be to gain over the Iroquois, by pointing out to them that the Engliſh aimed at exerciſing an authority over their country and their perſons.

With this view, having learnt that ſeveral of the Agniers had come to the Sault Saint Louis to viſit their friends, he not only recommended that they ſhould be kindly received, but he invited them to Montreal, where nothing was omitted to regale them, and to teſtify the ſatisfaction which their preſence excited. They were ſenſible

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ſible of the attention, and remained in that city a conſiderable time with a confidence, from which the inhabitants were inclined to augur happy conſequences. It was for theſe ſavages a flattering circumſtance, to ſee themſelves courted by two powers, either of which was able to deſtroy them in one campaign, and whoſe mutual jealouſy they well knew how to manage, in order to make themſelves of conſequence, and in ſome degree reſpected by both.

Louis de Bouade Count de Frontenac died about this period, in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age. He had poſſeſſed a conſtitution as robuſt and ſtrong as could poſſibly be enjoyed at ſo advanced a ſeaſon of human life, preſerving all the energy and vivacity of ſpirit with which, in his youth, he was endowed. He died as he had lived, beloved by many, reſpected by all, and with the credit of having, almoſt without the aid of ſupplies from France, ſupported, and even increaſed the ſtrength of a colony, expoſed and attacked on every ſide, and which he found, when he laſt was appointed to its government, on the precipice of ruin and decline. He at all times diſplayed a great attachment to religion, of which, even to the day of his death, he gave public proofs. He was never accuſed of being intereſted, but was paſſionately fond of patronage and power. In his laſt expedition againſt the Iroquois, he ſuddenly

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1698. ſuddenly withdrew from a reſolution, which with the advice of his principal officers he had taken, to exterminate the whole of that ſavage nation, a meaſure which he then might, with little difficulty, have effected. No other reaſon can be aſſigned for his conduct on that occaſion, but a conviction that when his foes became leſs formidable, a reduction of the troops under his command would conſequently take place, and his influence and authority would thereby be diminiſhed.

A jealouſy and ſullenneſs of temper, of which he was never wholly diveſted, obſcured, in a great degree, the luſtre of his ſucceſſes, and belied the dignity of his general character, which diſplayed firmneſs and reſolution, combined with a noble elevation of ſpirit.

1699. The arrival of the firſt ſhips from France announced to the Chevalier de Callieres, Governor of Montreal, that the King had appointed him ſucceſſor to M. de Frontenac; and the ſatisfaction which ſeemed to pervade every claſs of people in the colony, on the occaſion, was not leſs flattering to him than the choice of his ſovereign.

The government of Montreal, which was vacated by the promotion of M. de Callieres, was given to the Chevalier de Vaudreuil.

The

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The Governor-General of New England having received inſtructions from his ſovereign to oblige the Iroquois to diſarm, reſumed the deſign of rendering himſelf ſole arbiter of the treaty with the Governor-General of New France. Acquainted with the engagements into which the cantons had entered with the late Count de Frontenac, he required of them to ſend deputies to Orange. To this they ſtrongly objected, and, ſurpriſed at the refuſal, he ſent to them confidential perſons, who prevailed on them to protract the negotiation. They therefore did not appear at Montreal, although they had recently promiſed to the Chevalier de Callieres to repair to that place, and had even ſpecified the time on which they ſhould arrive. The General therefore, to guard againſt a ſurpriſe from theſe barbarians, made active preparations for war, ſhould they be inclined to renew their hoſtilities. He diſpatched meſſengers to Onnontagué, to inform the cantons, that they were conſidered by the Engliſh as ſubjects of their King, and that they had nothing to expect from New York, becauſe the Governor-General of New England had orders not to afford them any aſſiſtance either directly or otherwiſe, and gave them to underſtand that it would be no difficult matter for him to reduce them by force, ſhould they refuſe to make peace

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peace on the conditions which his predeceſſor had propoſed to them.

1699. This meaſure produced the deſired effect: the cantons did not, indeed, think fit to embroil themſelves with the Engliſh, of whoſe aid they might afterwards be in want; they judged it more prudent to diſſemble the reſentment which they felt at the pretenſions of that nation, and contented themſelves with declaring that they would continue to be the brothers, but would not become the ſubjects of the Engliſh. The latter, on their part, thought it neceſſary to remain on good terms with them. At length the cantons, after having heſitated for ſome time, and endeavoured to avenge their loſſes on ſome of the French allies, by whom they conceived they had been occaſioned, when they found that this plan did not ſucceed, ſeriouſly thought of coming to an accommodation, whilſt it was practicable without diſcredit, and with ſome advantage.

1700. In conſequence of this reſolution, on the 21ſt of March two Iroquois were ſent to the French General. They were not inveſted with any powers, but were charged with announcing a general deputation of the cantons in the month of July, and made, for this delay, ſome frivolous excuſes, with which M. de Callieres was by no means

means ſatisfied. Three months afterwards, a conſiderable number of Outaouais diſembarked at Montreal, where the General then was, and informed him that the Iroquois having come to hunt on their lands, they had attacked them, and killed twenty-eight perſons, both men and women: that the remainder of the party having repreſented to them, that they had conceived they were at liberty to hunt every where, ſince all hoſtilities had been ſuſpended on the part of the French and their allies, they had given their promiſe not to decide the fate of the priſoners, until they had become acquainted with the pleaſure of their father Ononthio. BOOK VII. 1700.

M. de Callieres, after having patiently heard them, ſaid, that they had not informed him of the whole: that notwithſtanding his injunctions to the contrary, they had been to attack the Sioux, and that after the blow which they had given to the Iroquois, they had ſent ſome of their priſoners to the cantons, to negotiate with them, without his participation: that ſuch conduct was not juſtifiable, as they acted with independence in an affair of importance, even after the aſſurances he had given them that he would conclude no terms with the Iroquois but in concert with them: that they muſt have forgot the treatment they had often received from that people, by ſo eaſily placing confidence in them: that

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that he hoped they would for the future be more conſiderate and circumſpect: that he daily expected the deputies of the cantons, and if on their arrival the chiefs of the allied nations ſhould not be at Montreal, he would acquaint them by an expreſs of his intentions: that in the mean while he hoped they would remain tranquil, and treat their priſoners with kindneſs.

On the 18th of July two deputies of the canton of Onnontagué, and four of that of Tſonnonthouan, arrived at Montreal, where they had a public audience from the General. They were conducted with ceremony to the General's quarters, and in proceeding through the ſtreets they deplored the death of the French who had fallen during the war, and called on their departed ſhades to witneſs the ſincerity of their proceedings.

As ſoon as they were introduced into the council chamber, where the Governor was with all his attendants, they declared that they were come on the part of the four upper cantons, by whom they were inveſted with powers: that for ſome time they had entertained a deſign of treating without the participation of the Agniers, and that if there did not appear amongſt them any perſon of the cantons of Goyogouin and Onneyouth, it was, becauſe the Governor of New England having ſent Colonel Schuyler to diſſuade

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them from coming to Montreal, the deputies of theſe cantons were ſent to inquire of him his reaſons for oppoſing their journey thither.

They then complained, that having gone on parties to the chace, without any apprehenſion of danger, and on their being aſſured that the war between France and England was concluded by a treaty in which the allies of the two nations were comprehended, the Outaouais and the Miamis had attacked them, and killed a hundred and fifty of their people. They requeſted that Father Bruyers, and M. M. de Maricourt and Joncaire, might accompany them in their return home, as nothing would more fully convince the cantons that their father ſincerely wiſhed for peace, than his condeſcending to grant that ſolicitation. They added, that theſe three ambaſſadors ſhould not depart from their country until they conducted with them all the French priſoners who were there detained.

The Chevalier de Callieres ſaid, that he was ſurpriſed that the deputies of Onneyouth and Goyogouin had been ſent to the Governor of New England, inſtead of coming with them to fulfil the engagements which they had entered into with him, and with the late M. de Frontenac.

That he had endeavoured to diſſuade his allies from the commiſſion of any act of hoſtility during the negotiation for peace; but, that affected delays

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delays on the part of the cantons, and the irruption of ſome Iroquois on the Miamis, had drawn upon themſelves the misfortunes which they lamented: that he however regreted them, and that to prevent ſimilar accidents he had required deputies from all the nations: that if the Iroquois ſincerely wiſhed for peace, they would not fail to ſend, in thirty days, ambaſſadors from all the cantons: that then all the *cauldrons of war* would be overſet, the great tree of peace eſtabliſhed, the rivers freed from all embarraſſments, the ways laid open; and that then, people of every country might travel in ſecurity.

He conſented that the miſſionary and the two officers whom they demanded ſhould accompany them in queſt of the priſoners, but upon condition that they ſhould alſo bring with them ambaſſadors inveſted with ample powers to eſtabliſh a durable peace: that on their arrival at Montreal, he would reſtore liberty to all the Iroquois priſoners, but he required that an equal number with the perſons whom he intruſted to them ſhould remain as hoſtages until their ſafe return. Four of the deputies made an offer to remain, and were accepted: the audience paſſed in ſufficient tranquillity, except that ſome Iroquois Chriſtians and Abinaquis, who were invited there, ſpoke with much haughtineſs, and loaded with reproaches the deputies of the two cantons.

M. de

M. de Callieres, in taking leave of them, declared that he would wait for the ambaſſadors until the month of September. BOOK VII. 1700.

The welcome manner in which they were received at Onnontagué ſurpaſſed their expectations. From the Lake Gannentaha, where they had come to meet them, they were led in triumph to the great village of the canton. Teganiſſorens, in quality of orator, advanced to compliment them with expreſſions of kindneſs and gratulation; and as this ſavage had always maintained an invariable conſiſtency of conduct with reſpect to the French, and took no part, either in the violations of promiſe, or in the violent reſolutions of his nation, the three envoys entertained no doubt of his ſincerity. On their entering the village, platoons of muſquetry were fired; they were afterwards profuſely regaled, and on the 10th of Auguſt were introduced into the cabin of council, where they found the deputies of all the upper cantons. When every perſon was ſeated in his place, Father Bruyas, who was commiſſioned as ſpeaker, began by exhorting the cantons to remember that Ononthio was their father, and that their duty and intereſt equally bound them to remain in obedience and ſubmiſſion, as became children, whether they might be upon good or upon bad terms with the Governor of New York, who was only their brother.

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He teſtified his regret for the loſs the Iroquois nation had ſuſtained by the death of ſeveral of their chiefs, and he aſſured them that the miſſionaries had not altered the favourable opinion and regard which they entertained for the cantons, notwithſtanding the evils which ſeveral of that order had experienced among them: their ſufferings they much leſs lamented than the blindneſs of their perſecutors, and the invincible obſtinacy of the nation in rejecting the light of the Goſpel. He declared that the new Ononthio was ſincerely diſpoſed for peace, and that he would grant them that deſirable enjoyment, provided they would on their part act towards him with mutual ingenuouſneſs.

He explained the conditions on which he would treat with them. They were liſtened to with great attention, and with apparent ſatisfaction. When Father Bruyas had concluded, M. de Maricourt aroſe, and after expreſſing himſelf with much reſpect towards the Iroquois, he omitted nothing to convince them that they would have much to apprehend from the formidable reſentment of their father, if they accepted not of the peace which he offered them, upon conditions ſo very favourable as theſe which had been recently explained to them; and on the contrary, how much they might expect from him and from all the French, if they would em-

brace with unrelenting ſincerity their genuine intereſts.

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As they were next day deliberating on the anſwer which they ſhould make to the ambaſſadors, a young Engliſhman and an Onnontagué arrived from Orange, and ſaid on the part of the Governor of New England, that they ought with caution to liſten to the French, and that he expected them in ten or twelve days at Orange, where he would make known to them his pleaſure. This imperious meſſage gave offence to the council, and nothing perhaps could more contribute to increaſe their approach to a reconciliation with the French than ſo ill-timed a meaſure. "I do not comprehend," immediately replied Teganiſſorens, "what can be the "intention of my brother, by endeavouring to "diſſuade us from liſtening to the admonition "of our father, and to encourage us to attune "our voices to the harſh notes of war, when "every thing around us breathes the milder "accents of peace."

Father Bruyas took advantage of the occaſion to point out to the aſſembly, that the Engliſh General treated the cantons like ſubjects, and that if once they ſubmitted to his claims, they would ſoon experience the haughtineſs of his domination; an event which would, of neceſſity, take place, if they allowed to eſcape the oppor-

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tunity which was now preſented them of a complete reconciliation with their father. If ſuch unhappily ſhould be their choice, they could have no other proſpect but that of being gradually conſumed and enfeebled by war, until their condition became ſo reduced that they could no longer refuſe to ſubmit to a yoke, of the preſſure of whoſe weight they would perhaps too late be ſenſible.

M. Joncaire went the ſame day to the canton of Tſonnonthouan, where he had been adopted, as M. de Maricourt and all his family had been at Onnontagué. He was received with diſtinction as ambaſſador, and with friendſhip as a child of the nation: they granted at his requeſt liberty to all the French priſoners who were in the canton; but the greater part, accuſtomed to a ſavage life, had not the reſolution to renounce it. Many concealed themſelves, others openly refuſed to follow the Sieur de Joncaire. The attractions of a liberty exempted from every ſpecies of law, with the introduction of a certain degree of licentiouſneſs, effaced from the minds of theſe people the hardſhips incident to their preſent mode of life, and all the pleaſures and gratifications which they might have regained in their country.

Whilſt Joncaire was negotiating with the Tſonnonthouans, a general council of the whole Iroquois

Iroquois nation was aſſembled at Onnontagué: the young Engliſhman, deputy of the Governor of New England, was there admitted, and Teganiſſorens ſpoke for the whole of the cantons. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to the French envoys, and began by aſſuring them that the whole nation was diſpoſed to liſten to the voice of their father. He added, that each canton would ſend him deputies to receive his orders, and that they would immediately depart. Then turning to the Engliſhman he ſaid, that nothing was done in ſecret, and that he was happy an opportunity was afforded of knowing the preſent diſpoſition of his nation. He deſired to inform his brother Corleu, that he was going to Montreal to ſubmit to the orders of his father Ononthio, who had there planted the tree of peace: that he would afterwards go to Orange, to learn the pleaſure of his brother. In concluding theſe words he placed five belts at the feet of the ambaſſadors.

Father Bruyas accepted them, ſaying, that he doubted not the uprightneſs of the orator's intentions, whom he had a long time known: that if they who were to repair to Montreal would wiſh not to cauſe the deputies of the diſtant nations to wait for them, there was no time to be loſt.

They therefore ſet out on their return, accompanied by the deputies of this canton, and of

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that of Goyogouan. They were re-conducted with the ſame honours as they had received on their entrance into the country, as far as Gannentaha, and there waited ſome time for the deputies of Onneyouth, who did not however appear, and this canton contented itſelf with ſending a belt, with an excuſe, that the chief of the deputation was taken with ſickneſs. It was afterwards found that this was only an evaſion, that they might not be obliged to give up their priſoners. Joncaire ſoon after arrived, with ſix deputies of Tſonnonthouan, and three Frenchmen, whom he procured to be liberated, and engaged to follow him. Ten priſoners only were collected in all the cantons, but Teganiſſorens aſſerted that he would make ſearch for the remainder, and have them conducted to Montreal.

The ambaſſadors and deputies were about to embark, when Tſonnonthouan arrived from Orange, and ſaid, that the Governor of New England, much diſſatisfied that, notwithſtanding his injunctions to the contrary, the cantons ſhould perſiſt in the reſolution of making peace with the French, had arreſted and put in irons an Onneyouth, accuſed of having killed an Engliſhman, ſeized the beaver furs which he found at Orange, the property of the Iroquois, hoiſted a red flag, to publiſh his intention of declaring war, gave order

orders to the Mahingans to commence hoſtilities, and that he threatened to march on the following year to the cantons, to teach them to reſpect his will. BOOK VII. 1700.

The deputies liſtened with tranquillity to this recital, which appeared to make no other impreſſion upon them than to excite an emotion of diſpleaſure. They ſet out, to the number of nineteen perſons, and on their arrival at Montreal were received under a diſcharge of ſmall field-pieces, which created a degree of jealouſy in the minds of the allies, ſome of whom enquired if ſuch was the manner in which they received their enemies? The French reflected not perhaps on the conſequences, and a day was fixed for hearing the propoſitions of the Iroquois. The loſs of the attachment of friends is often hazarded in wiſhing to regain enemies, whom ſuch a conduct frequently tends to render more haughty and intractable.

The orator of the cantons ſpoke in a few words, and with much modeſty. He claimed great merit from the prompt obedience of his nation, in that two hundred warriors being on the point of entering on a campaign to take vengeance on the French allies for their laſt acts of hoſtility, they had ſtopped them, at the ſimple requeſt of Father Bruyas with his two collars on the part of their Father Ononthio: he made

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known the diſcontents, which the orders and menaces of the Governor-General of New England had excited among the deputies: he added, that as the contempt they had ſhewn for his meſſage might draw them into a war with the Engliſh, he hoped that the Iroquois would find at Catarocony not only merchandiſe, which they would in that event no longer receive from Orange; but likewiſe the arms and ammunition of which they might be in want, to be able to ſubſiſt without the Engliſh commerce, or to defend themſelves ſhould they be attacked.

The aſſembly was more numerous on the day appointed to anſwer this diſcourſe. The Chevalier de Callieres there repeated to the deputies what he had before ſaid to the firſt envoys, that he had with regret learned accounts of the hoſtilities which were on either ſide practiſed during the laſt campaign; that the loſſes of the Iroquois had much afflicted him, although their origin could be imputed only to themſelves; and that hereafter he would purſue ſuch meaſures as would not in future give riſe to ſimilar calamities. He told them they had acted with prudence in preventing the march of their warriors; that they would have nothing further to apprehend on the part of the allies, whoſe principal chiefs they ſaw before them, and who had come to receive his commands: that they had evinced their good intentions,

tentions, in having reſtored to him a part of the French priſoners: that he relied on their ſending back all the others, as they had given their engagement to that effect, and that they would alſo return to his allies all of their brethren who might yet be among them. For the performance of this article he would allow them until the month of Auguſt of the following year: the deputies of all the nations ſhould then repair to Montreal, that an exchange of priſoners might there take place on either ſide, and all things ſhould then be put into the ſame ſtate in which they were before the commencement of the war. 1700.

As the time he had given them appeared long, he declared, that if there ſhould ariſe any miſunderſtanding, or if evil-diſpoſed perſons ſhould give riſe to hoſtility, he wiſhed the party injured to addreſs itſelf to him, without doing itſelf juſtice by its own arm, and he would cauſe atonement to be made: if the aggreſſor ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to the ſatisfaction which he ſhould preſcribe, he would himſelf join the party who had received the wrong, to conſtrain him to that meaſure, and would cauſe him to repent of his diſobedience: that it ſhould not reſt with him, if the Governor of New England did not poſſeſs the ſame line of conduct, and act in concert with him, as was the pleaſure of the two ſovereigns, their maſters. What they demanded with reſpect

to

BOOK VII. 1700.

to the fort of Catarocony, did not depend entirely upon him, but he would write upon that ſubject to the King, and in awaiting the anſwer of his majeſty he would detach to that poſt an officer and men, with a ſmith, and ſome merchandiſe.

The Iroquois applauded his diſcourſe. The Rat, who was deputy and chief of the Hurons Theouraontates, then ſpoke as follows: "I have always ſhewn obedience to my father, and I throw my hatchet at his feet. I doubt not that the people from the higher country will do the ſame. Iroquois, imitate my example." The deputy of the four Outaouaiſian nations ſpoke nearly in the ſame tone; that of the Abinaquis ſaid, that he had no other hatchet but that of his father, who having interred it, he no longer poſſeſſed one. The Iroquois Chriſtians made the ſame declaration. There exiſted a kind of pique between the two laſt and the Iroquois deputies, but it was effaced by the prudence of the General, and a ſpecies of proviſional treaty was ſigned.

M. de Callieres who thus ſucceſsfully applied himſelf for the pacification of his government, endeavoured to ſecure the alliance of all the nations with whom the French could poſſibly have any connection; and for this purpoſe he made it his ſtudy to counteract every obſtacle to the eſtabliſhment of a good underſtanding, ſo eſſential

tial to the preſervation, and to the tranquillity of the French colony.

1700.

M. Brouillan, Governor of Acadia, having learnt that veſſels from England were expected at Boſton, whoſe deſtination was againſt Quebec, and to cruiſe in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, diſpatched a courier to make known this intelligence to M. de Callieres. Of this the General had already received information, and was further told, that the militia of New York was on its way to Boſton; that the Iroquois were ſtrongly ſolicited by the Governor of New England to expel the French miſſionaries from their country; that ſome of the cantons had agreed to that propoſal; that many of the Indian allies were in treaty with the Engliſh, by the interpoſition of the Iroquois, and that ſome of them alleged, as an excuſe for their conduct, the high price of the goods ſupplied by the French. This old ground of complaint, which was but too well founded, aroſe, in part, from the poverty of the inhabitants of Canada, and in part from the avarice of the merchants of the country, as well as of thoſe of France; it became, therefore, a plauſible pretext, which the ſavages could always introduce, to cover their inconſtancy, or to conceal their diſaffection.

In ſuch a conjuncture, it was requiſite that M. de Callieres ſhould firſt endeavour to defeat the intrigues

BOOK VII.

intrigues of his enemies among the cantons of the Iroquois, and it was here that he commenced his operations. He then wrote to his court for reinforcements, and turned his views towards completing the fortifications of Quebec, taking every other precaution which his experience and activity could ſuggeſt. He was, in himſelf, the greateſt reſource of which New France could boaſt, but ſhe had the misfortune to loſe him, at a period when his ſervices were become more than ever eſſential. He died on the 26th of May, and the regret felt for his loſs manifeſted, on the part of the inhabitants, that they eſtimated his merits as not inferior to thoſe of the moſt accompliſhed leaders that the colony had ever poſſeſſed.

1700.

1703.

Of talents leſs brilliant than thoſe of his predeceſſor, he was endowed with more ſolidity of temper: unprejudiced, unbiaſſed by paſſion, his views were diſintereſted and upright. His firmneſs was influenced by reaſon, his valour by moderation and coolneſs of diſpoſition. He poſſeſſed an excellent underſtanding, whoſe dictates were always guided by probity and honour. To a penetrating genius were added all the aids which application and experience can impart. From the firſt outſet of his military career in the colony he had gained a great influence over the ſavages, to whom he never violated his promiſe.

By

By his death the office of Governor devolved upon the Marquis de Vaudreuil, whoſe ſervices had rendered him ſo great a favourite among the people, that they united in petitioning the King for his being appointed ſucceſſor to M. de Callieres: a mark of general ſatisfaction, which was not diſpleaſing to the monarch, who, having already a partiality for the character of the Marquis, was pleaſed to accord with their wiſhes. 1703.

Convinced of the advantages of gaining the Iroquois, that officer paid great attention to the Tſonnonthouans, who came to Quebec ſoon after the death of M. de Callieres. He ſent to accompany them to this country the Sieur Joncaire, who had already negotiated with ſucceſs in that canton, and was again ſo fortunate as to prevail on one of the principal chiefs to attend him to Canada. This ſavage thanked the Governor-General for his kindneſs in promiſing protection againſt the enemies of his nation: he expreſſed much regret that the Onnontagués had not ſent deputies to congratulate the Governor, and for the ſuſpicion of unfavourable intentions which ſuch an omiſſion might occaſion. He then continued as follows:

"We have never yet communicated what I "am about to diſcloſe. Hitherto we have pre-"tended to be the ſole proprietors of our terri-"tories, and it was on this account that we "adopted

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1703. "adopted the meaſure of becoming only ſpecta-
"tors of what paſſed between thee and the
"Engliſh: but, behold a collar, which I preſent,
"to declare to thee, that we inveſt thee with the
"abſolute domain of our country. Thus, my
"father, if any unfortunate circumſtance ſhould
"occur to us, or ſhould we have recourſe to
"thy aid, conſider us as thy children, and place
"us in a condition to ſupport the reſolution
"which we have adopted. With reſpect to the
"miſſionaries, be aſſured that I would ſooner
"periſh than ſuffer them to leave my country."
He confirmed this reſolution by a collar, and preſented another, to obtain leave that Joncaire ſhould paſs the winter with him.

Joncaire accordingly departed with this ſavage chief. Teganiſſorens ſoon afterwards came to Montreal, and in an audience with the Governor-General, began by diſplaying much diſſatisfaction. "The Europeans," ſaid he, "are of a bad
"diſpoſition: they make peace among them-
"ſelves, and the moſt trifling circumſtance
"cauſes them to reſume the hatchet. We
"ſavages act in a different manner, and muſt
"have ſtrong reaſons for breaking a treaty of
1705. "which we have ſigned." He afterwards declared that his canton would take no part in a war, as it diſapproved of aggreſſion on either ſide. M. de Vaudreuil wiſhed for nothing more than

1705.

than that aſſurance: and to deprive the Iroquois of all pretenſions for breaking a neutrality ſo advantageous for the colony, he reſolved not to ſend, on the ſide of New York, any parties againſt the Engliſh.

With reſpect to an arrangement of the difference between the Iroquois and the Outaouais, ſome difficulties occurred; for although the priſoners which had been taken were reſtored, they exacted a reparation for thoſe which had been killed. This was not eaſy to be obtained, and it was apprehended they would reſume their hoſtilities. The Outaouais on their part would not liſten to peace: all their young men were bent on war. The apprehenſion of a flame being revived, which had with much trouble been ſubdued, obliged the General to diſpatch M. de Louvigny to Michilimakinac, and this officer ſucceeded at length with much difficulty in bringing the Outaouais to reaſon. He cauſed to be reſtored to the Iroquois ſome priſoners whom he found remaining at that poſt, and conducted them himſelf to Montreal. In preſenting them to M. de Vaudreuil, he told him that the principal chiefs of the Outaouais were following him thither; which induced the General to recommend thoſe of the Iroquois to come to an explanation with them, and to receive their priſoners. They had arrived on the beginning of Auguſt, and

BOOK VII. 1705.

and remained until the 14th, in expectation of the Outaouais, who had not then arrived, and the Governor, unable to detain them longer, took leave of them. He did not however fail to point out to them the regard which he manifeſted for them, in waiting ſo long at Montreal to accommodate their differences with the Outaouais: but he obſerved to them, that he could not comply with their wiſh by declaring himſelf againſt the ſavages, as he was not bound in virtue of the treaty to join his arms to thoſe of the offended party, but when he ſhould deſpair of obtaining from the aggreſſor an ample ſatisfaction: that upon this point he ſhould not be remiſs: that he had already procured the liberation of all the priſoners, and that he hoped the aggreſſors would perform what remained to complete the required degree of ſatisfaction.

It appeared that this diſcourſe had appeaſed them, and they embarked to return to their country, when the Sieur de Vincennes arrived from Michilimakinac. He informed the Governor-General that he was come with the chiefs of the Outaouais, and that he had left them not far from the iſland, becauſe they had requeſted him to go before them, to learn of their father if he would be pleaſed to admit them into his preſence. M. de Vaudreuil ſent to inform them they might approach, and called back the Iroquois.

The

The Outaouais appeared in a ſtate of humiliation, which announced that they pretended not to juſtify their fault. "My father," ſaid the chief who was choſen as their ſpeaker, "we confeſs that in attacking the Iroquois upon thy territory, we in ſome degree aimed a blow againſt thee: pardon inconſiderate warriors, no longer directed by councils, becauſe all their ancients are dead. Thou mayſt inflict on us ſueh revenge as thou judgeſt moſt ſuitable; but if thou art inclined to pardon us, thou ſhalt not repent of thy clemency. Whilſt we continue to live, we will not ceaſe to ſhew thee marks of our gratitude; and we are henceforward diſpoſed to make to thoſe whom we have offended every ſpecies of ſatisfaction which thou wilt be pleaſed to impoſe on us." 1705.

He then addreſſed himſelf to the Iroquois who were preſent, and ſpoke in a manner that made a deep impreſſion on them. The General afterwards found no difficulty in effecting a reconciliation. He charged the Outaouais to make ample ſatisfaction for the dead, to which they readily agreed, and began by making ſome preſents to the Iroquois, a ceremony which the General alſo did not forget: he afterwards regaled both parties, and they returned to their homes with mutual ſatisfaction.

BOOK VII.

1705. M. de Beauharnois, who had ſucceeded M. de Champigny in the intendance of Canada, was nominated intendant of marine, and M. M. Raudot, father and ſon, were appointed his ſucceſſors. The latter, who had exerciſed the office of firſt commiſſary at Dunkirk, took charge of the marine. Juſtice, police, finance, and the general affairs of the colony, became the province of the father; who having learnt that the inhabitants began to ruin themſelves in law-ſuits, to the great prejudice of agriculture, reſolved as much as poſſible to reſtrict the frequency of theſe procedures, and undertook himſelf to promote amicable accommodations between parties at variance; a meaſure in which he ſucceeded even beyond his expectations.

1706. He propoſed to the council of the King, that the inhabitants who cultivated flax and hemp ſhould be permitted themſelves to manufacture theſe articles of produce into ſtuffs, as from the loſs of a large veſſel which was coming to the colony loaded with woollen and linen cloths, the prices of theſe neceſſaries of life were become ſo extravagant that the poorer orders could not purchaſe them, and the greateſt part of the coloniſts were almoſt reduced to a ſtate of nakedneſs.

The anſwer of the miniſter was, that the King learnt with great ſatisfaction that his ſubjects of

Canada were at length ſenſible of the error they had committed, in attaching themſelves only to the trade for furs, and that they were beginning to apply themſelves ſeriouſly to the cultivation of their lands, particularly to the raiſing of hemp and flax: that his majeſty hoped they would in time be enabled to conſtruct veſſels at a cheaper rate than in France, and to form proper eſtabliſhments for carrying on the fiſheries. That they could not be too much excited to theſe objects, nor too greatly encouraged in the means of their attainment. That it was not the intereſt of the parent ſtate that manufactures ſhould be carried on in America, as it would diminiſh the conſumption of thoſe in France; but in the mean time he did not prohibit the poor from manufacturing ſtuffs in their own houſes, for the relief of themſelves and their families. From this permiſſion, the inhabitants have ever ſince continued to fabricate coarſe linens and druggets, which has enabled them to ſubſiſt at a very ſmall expence.

In the mean time the Outaouais did not ſeem very eager to fulfil the condition on which they had obtained pardon from the Marquis de Vaudreuil. On the other hand, the miſſionaries of Michilimakinac, after having burnt their houſe, deſcended to Quebec, becauſe the licentiouſneſs of the *Coureurs de Bois*, more unreſtrained than

BOOK VII. 1706.

ever, had deprived them of all hope of rendering any ſervice in that quarter, where, ſince the departure of the Hurons for Detroit, not a ſingle Chriſtian remained. The Outaouais, therefore, abandoned to themſelves, followed only the dictates of their own caprice.

The embarraſſment into which this incident threw the General was much augmented by the advice which he received, that the Iroquois, impatient at the delay of ſatisfaction on the part of the Outaouais, ſeriouſly thought of declaring war againſt them. To prevent this meaſure was of the greateſt conſequence, and M. Joncaire was immediately ſent to repeat to the cantons the ſolemn promiſe of a ſpeedy and entire ſatisfaction. P. Mareſt was prevailed on to return to his miſſion of Michilimakinac, on promiſe that the ſubject of his diſſatisfaction ſhould no longer be allowed to exiſt. He was accompanied by M. de Louvigni, and both, by the aſcendant which they had gained over the Outaouais, at length obliged theſe ſavages to perform to the Iroquois the full extent of their engagements.

This affair was ſcarcely terminated, when another occurred, of a nature much more troubleſome, and which, had it not been for the prudence and firmneſs of the Governor-General, would have engaged the French in a war againſt their allies, perhaps have reduced them to the neceſſity

neceſſity of deſtroying the nation, which until then had been conſtantly attached to their intereſts, and would have afforded to the Iroquois a pretext to re-commence their hoſtilities. BOOK VII. 1706.

A party of the Miamis had killed ſome of the Outaouais, and their ancients, from whom juſtice was demanded, were ſatisfied with ſaying that it was an accident. Some time after an Outaouais of great conſideration among his countrymen, was likewiſe killed by a Miamis. Juſtice was again required, and a ſimilar anſwer to the former was again given. The Outaouais felt the injury in the moſt lively manner, and addreſſed themſelves to M. de la Motte Cadillac, who commanded at Detroit, where there was a village of the Miamis, another of the Outaouais, and another of the Hurons. This officer replied, that he would make inquiry into the manner in which the affair happened, and that reparation ſhould be made.

A few days afterwards he ſet out for Quebec, and in taking leave of the Outaouais told them, that whilſt his lady remained at Detroit they might reſt in tranquillity; but that if ſhe left this place, he would not be anſwerable for what might afterwards occur. At the expiration of two months Madam la Motte embarked to go to join her huſband at Quebec, and then the laſt words which the commandant had ſaid to the

BOOK VII. 1706.

Outaouais, and the circumſtance of his quitting them without procuring for them ſatisfaction from the Miamis, made them apprehenſive that the French had reſolved on their ruin, to puniſh their aggreſſion againſt the Iroquois at Cataracony; for although they had made reparation for that fault, as the ſavages never ſincerely forgive, they are always doubtful of the ſincerity of pardon on the part of thoſe whom they have offended.

An officer named Bourgmont, arrived at Detroit to relieve the Sieur de Tonti, whom M. de la Motte Cadillac had left there to command in his abſence. The ſavages having gone to pay their reſpects to him, according to cuſtom, enquired if he had not brought them ſome news intereſting to them. He replied with a haughty air, that he ſhould not be ſurpriſed if M. de la Motte ſhould return in the ſpring, accompanied by a conſiderable force.

This anſwer, with the tone and manner in which it was given, afforded ample room for reflection to the Outaouais. They were perſuaded that ſome deſign was formed againſt them, and they diſſembled not their apprehenſions. Bourgmont having been made acquainted therewith, aſſembled them, and after having made uſe of every argument in his power to reſtore their confidence, he propoſed to them to

go

go to war in conjunction with the Miamis, the Iroquois, and the Hurons, againſt the Sioux. He flattered himſelf that he had engaged them for this purpoſe. But the diſcourſe which he had given, and the propoſal which he made, ſerved only to confirm them in the thought that he wiſhed to betray them by means of the chief of the Hurons, who was of a deceitful and intriguing ſpirit; and they imagined that this man acted in concert with the Miamis, who, they ſuppoſed, only pretended to march againſt the Sioux, in order to fall upon them whilſt they might be unprepared, and that the Iroquois were engaged in the conſpiracy. Their ſuſpicions every day gained ſtrength by the new intelligence which they received from every quarter, and which would have made little impreſſion upon them if their mind had not been pre-occupied; they therefore reſolved to anticipate the deſigns of the Miamis. Thoſe among them who poſſeſſed the moſt reflection, wiſhed firſt to come to an explanation with the French; but the greater number, influenced by a chief named the Heavy, was of a contrary opinion. This chief recalled to their recollection all the cauſes of diſtruſt which had been given by the commandant of Detroit, and the reſolution was taken to fall upon the Miamis on the firſt occaſion that ſhould preſent itſelf; but in the mean time to aſſume the ap-

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pearance of preparing to make war againſt the Sioux.

1706. All being in readineſs to depart for this expedition, the chiefs of the Outaouais went to find Bourgmont, and enquired of him if he had received no account from Quebec or from Montreal. That officer appeared not even to attend to what was ſaid, which gave them much offence: almoſt at the ſame time the dog of Bourgmont having bit one of the ſavages in the leg, who in conſequence thereof beat the animal, the commandant fell upon the ſavage with great fury, and gave him ſo many violent and repeated blows that he died a ſhort time after. This act of violence threw the Outaouais into deſpair. They departed the following day breathing out vengeance, convinced that it was neceſſary for their preſervation.

No perſon but the chiefs was however inſtructed with their deſign, the reſt of the nation expecting to march againſt the Sioux; but when they had gained the woods, the whole were informed of what had occurred, and it was recommended that no injury ſhould be offered either to the French or to the Hurons. They returned home, and ſome time after having met ſix of the Miamis, they attacked them and killed five. The ſixth eſcaped into the fort, crying out that the Outaouais were killing them. At this cry all the

1706.

the Miamis who were yet in the village ran to take refuge in the fort, and as they perceived the Outaouais purſuing them, the commandant gave orders to fire upon them, and ſeveral were killed. Father Conſtantin, a recollet, was walking in his garden, ignorant of what was paſſing; ſome Outaouais ſeized and bound him; but Jean le Blanc, one of their chiefs who had aſſiſted at the aſſembly of Montreal when the general peace was ſigned, releaſed him, and requeſted that he would go and inform the commandant, that the Outaouais wiſhed not to attack the French, and beg that he would ceaſe from firing on them. As the recollet was entering the fort, ſome Miamis who were running thither came up with him, which the Outaouais perceiving diſcharged their fuſils, and Father Conſtantin receiving a ſhot immediately fell dead. A French ſoldier who was returning from the village of the Hurons was alſo killed in the ſame manner. They continued to fire from the fort, and thirty of the Outaouais were killed. There was reaſon to believe that this tumult would only ceaſe by the deſtruction of one of the parties, who appeared enraged againſt each other, and were guided only by the dictates of revenge; but, when it was leaſt expected, the Outaouais retired into their village: the other ſavages acted in the ſame manner, and tranquillity was re-eſtabliſhed.

Intelligence

BOOK VII.

1706.

Intelligence of what had happened being carried to Quebec, the Governor found himſelf much embarraſſed; and what tended to increaſe his difficulties, was a deputation which he at the ſame time received on the part of the Iroquois. The deputies declared that the cantons were reſolved to make war againſt the Outaouais: that after what had taken place, they doubted not he would deliver over to them that perfidious nation; and they added, that they had already communicated their intentions to the Engliſh.

La Motte Cadillac had ſet out to return to Detroit with his family, and a large convoy of men and proviſions; thus the General had it not in his power to adviſe with him reſpecting what was neceſſary to be done in ſo delicate a conjuncture. He however began by declaring to the Iroquois, that he would not ſuffer them to make war on the Outaouais without his full conſent, and ſpoke to them in ſo reſolute a tone, that he made them lay aſide their deſign.

He ſent an order for all the French at Michilimakinac to deſcend into the colony, in hopes that this mark of his reſentment would promote a diviſion among the ſavages, and oblige the innocent to deliver up the guilty. He communicated his reſolution to La Motte Cadillac, and recommended it to him to be ſatisfied with remaining on his guard, and to undertake no enterpriſe until

until circumſtances ſhould point out the people againſt whom he ſhould act; and he could come to no determination before he knew the ſucceſs of the miſſion of Joncaire, whom he had diſpatched to the Iroquois.

This advice arrived too late at Detroit, where the commandant had nearly loſt every thing, from having too much preſumed on the authority which he had acquired over theſe ſavages. He had learnt on his journey accounts of the diſorder which had happened at his poſt, and as he was then near to the canton of Tſonnonthouan, he there took an eſcort of a hundred and twenty men. He even adopted ſtronger meaſures, for he requeſted the other cantons to ſend as many of their warriors as they could ſpare, to wait at the entrance of the Strait, that part of the St. Lawrence which flows from Lake St. Clair into Lake Erie, in order to witneſs the manner in which he would treat their ancient enemies.

It was not long before he became ſenſible of the imprudence of this conduct, and on his arrival at Detroit, inſtead of marching againſt the Outaouais as he propoſed, he contented himſelf with calling to him their chiefs; they, on their part, alarmed by the approach of the Iroquois, anſwered, that they would give an account of their conduct to their father Ononthio, and La Motte Cadillac judged it prudent to proceed no further.

BOOK VII. further. He remained quiet in his poſt, and the Iroquois were ſent home.

1707. As ſoon as the winter was paſt, the chiefs of the Outaouais departed for Montreal, where they arrived in the month of June, and there found M. de Vaudreuil. Jean le Blanc, who was the orator, began by an exact recital of what paſſed at Detroit, and inſiſted much on their having been aſſured, that ſhould they have marched, as was intended, againſt the Sioux, the Miamis would have maſſacred their women and children, and have burnt their villages. He then ſaid, that a few days after the fatal tumult which had rendered them criminal in the eyes of the French, he went to make his apology to the Sieur de Bourgmont, but could not procure an audience: that on the following day he returned for that purpoſe no leſs than ſix times, and each time with a ſavage of a different nation, carrying belts and beaver ſkins, but all was in vain. He pointed out the raſh conduct of that officer, who by firing upon the Outaouais had occaſioned the death of the recollet father, and of the French ſoldier.

"In fine, my father," ſaid he, "behold me at thy feet: thou knoweſt that I am not the moſt culpable, and if I had been thought ſo, thou wouldſt not have had any ſubject of complaint againſt us. Thou knoweſt that I never ſwerved from

1707.

from my duty until that fatal day: thou mayeſt be informed that I am the ſon of one of the greateſt of the ſavages of all the higher nations, who am come acroſs the woods to preſent myſelf to thee. M. de Courcelles had committed to him the key of the colony, and invited him frequently to come thither: it is the deareſt inheritance which I have derived from him, to whom I owe my exiſtence: but of what utility would the cuſtody of this key prove, if I could not uſe it on the only occaſion in which I want to avail myſelf of this privilege? For what purpoſe then am I come ſo far? I am come to preſent my own head; I am come to preſent thee with ſlaves, to revive the dead; I am come hither to aſſure thee of the reſpect of thy children; what can I do more? I however clearly perceive that thou wilt not be ſatisfied becauſe we have not delivered up to thee the Heavy, who is properly the only guilty perſon; but it is impoſſible for us to place him in thy hands without drawing upon our arm all the nations of which he is the ally."

M. de Vaudreuil anſwered, that he comprehended well the difficulty which muſt occur in bringing to him the Heavy, whom nevertheleſs he wiſhed to have, and ſhould have, in his power: that all the nations were informed of the miſconduct of the Outaouais: that as Detroit had been

the

BOOK VII. 1707.

the theatre of that miſchief, it was there that reparation muſt be made, and that he would tranſmit his orders on this head to M. de la Motte Cadillac: that they ſhould forthwith repair to him, and ſhould not fail to execute whatever he ſhould dictate.

He took leave of them with this anſwer, without accepting their collar, and he ſent with them M. de St. Pierre, to whom he gave his inſtructions for the commandant of Detroit. On their arrival at this poſt La Motte Cadillac peremptorily declared to them that there was no favour to be expected if they did not produce the Heavy; and he added, if he had not reſtrained the Hurons and Miamis, thoſe nations would already have taken vengeance.

They ſaw that there was no other reſource but to obey, and they told the commandant, that they would go in ſearch of the criminal, and would either bring him with them, or take away his life. They departed for Michilimakinac, and M. de Saint Pierre accompanied them thither. The promptitude of their obedience gave reaſon to ſuppoſe that La Motte Cadillac had inſinuated that he would uſe indulgence. The Heavy arrived ſoon after at Detroit, and was immediately put in irons: all the chiefs of his nation threw themſelves on their knees to demand pardon for the priſoner, which was immediately granted.

M. de

M. de Vaudreuil was not of opinion that the priſoner ſhould have been pardoned, but that he ſhould have been delivered up to the juſtice of his nation, in which he would at leaſt have remained without credit, and who perhaps would have been obliged to have ſacrificed him to his enemies. The preſent meaſure however turned out to be the moſt proper, and produced none of the inconveniences which were apprehended from it. The General had given to the Sieur la Motte Cadillac a power to act at Detroit in the manner he ſhould think the moſt advantageous for the ſervice. The only diſadvantage ariſing from his clemency was, that he had promiſed to the Miamis the head of the Outaouais chief, and they ſoon afterwards diſplayed their reſentment becauſe he had not adhered to his engagement. 1707.

Theſe ſavages had their principal eſtabliſhment on the river St. Joſeph, where father Aveneau, their miſſionary, by an unalterable meekneſs of diſpoſition, and an invincible patience, had gained over them the ſame influence which father Allonez his predeceſſor had poſſeſſed. M. de la Motte Cadillac, who wiſhed to govern theſe ſavages according to his own manner, would not ſuffer that in the village of this nation, three hundred leagues diſtant from Detroit, any perſon ſhould hold more credit than himſelf, and obliged father Aveneau to abandon his miſſion. The Miamis,

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1707. Miamis, having no longer a miſſionary to moderate their ſallies, renewed their applications to be revenged on the Outaouais chief. The commandant wiſhed to amuſe them, and ordered to Detroit the object of their hatred, after having given him aſſurance that he had nothing to fear, and all that was exacted from him was, that he ſhould ſettle with his family at this poſt.

The Miamis, reduced to a ſtate of deſpair at finding themſelves thus deceived, killed three Frenchmen, and committed ſome ravages in the vicinity of Detroit. La Motte Cadillac was even informed that they had conſpired to maſſacre him, and to put to death all the French at Detroit: that ſome Iroquois and Hurons had entered into the plot, and that they would already have executed their ſanguinary project if a Ouyatanon had not betrayed them. This intelligence, and the inſult which he received, made him reſolve to attack theſe barbarians, and he took means for that purpoſe: but it happened that his preparations tended to conclude with them an accommodation honourable for himſelf, and for his country.

It never fails to happen, that ſavages become preſumptuous in their conduct, in proportion to the moderation which is ſhewn them; and the Miamis obſerved not the conditions of the treaty, in which they had remarked certain indications of

1707.

of weakneſs. The French commandant was therefore obliged to march againſt them at the head of four hundred men, partly compoſed of Frenchmen, and partly of ſavages. They defended themſelves with reſolution, but being forced in their intrenchments, and having no other reſource but in the clemency of the conqueror, they ſubmitted to every condition that was required of them. But to prevent them in future from being guilty of ſome freſh imprudence, which would neceſſitate the French to puſh them to extremity, it was thought adviſeable to ſend back their miſſionary.

The Iroquois cantons obſerved a ſtrict neutrality; to which the miſſionaries, by their vigilance, doubtleſs contributed. But their conduct in this reſpect was in a great degree imputable to the offices of the Sieur de Joncaire, and to the good underſtanding which this officer maintained with them. Adopted by Tſonnonthouans, and beloved by the Onnontagués, he went inceſſantly from one canton to another: he acquainted the miſſionaries with every thing that occurred, and took no ſtep but in concert with them. The Iroquois were charmed with his affability: he ſpoke their language as well as they themſelves: he gained them by his liberality: he was reſpected for his daring conduct, and he well knew what part to act, without heſitation, on occaſions

BOOK VII. 1707. where promptitude of deciſion was required; qualities of eſſential moment in the ſituation where he was placed.

But whilſt the French ſucceeded in preventing the heathen Iroquois from taking any part againſt them, the Governor of Orange negotiated with almoſt equal ſucceſs among the chriſtian and domiciliated Iroquois of the colony. For ſome time a relaxation had been remarked in the piety of of theſe converts, and which could be attributed to no other cauſe than that of inebriation, from which it was no longer poſſible to reſtrain them. For, notwithſtanding the reiterated prohibitions of the King, and the exertion of the Governor of Montreal, the commerce of ſpirituous liquors had reſumed its vigour, and it was diſcovered that no great dependance was to be placed on the Iroquois of the Sault Saint Louis, and of the Mountain, with reſpect to their aid in warlike expeditions.

1708. In a council at Montreal held in the ſpring, wherein the chiefs of all the chriſtian ſavages eſtabliſhed in the colony, and ſeveral of the Abinaquis were preſent, it was reſolved to form a body of a hundred choſen Canadians, beſides a great number of volunteers, moſt of whom were officers, making together with the ſavages four hundred men. M. M. de Saint Ours des Chaillons, and Hertelde Rouville, were to command the

the French, and the Sieur Boucher de la Perriere was to conduct the ſavages. As it was of importance that the object of this armament ſhould be kept ſecret until the moment of the departure of the warriors, and that the march ſhould be expeditious, it was ſettled that the two firſt commanders ſhould take the route of the river Saint Francis, with the Algonquins, the Abinaquis of Bekancourt, and the Hurons of Lorette, and that La Perriere with the Iroquois ſhould go by Lake Champlain; that all ſhould rendezvous at the Lake Nikiſipique, and that the neighbouring ſavages of Acadia ſhould likewiſe be there at the time appointed.

Several incidents had nearly contributed to ſtop this enterpriſe, and delayed the departure of the warriors. On the 26th of July they began their march, but when Des Chaillons and Rouville had arrived at the river St. Francis, they received advice that the Hurons were returned home, becauſe one of them being killed by accident in the chace, this misfortune made the reſt ſuppoſe that the expedition would be unſucceſsful. The Iroquois, whom La Perriere led by Lake Champlain, ſoon purſued the ſame conduct, pretending that ſome of their people were ſick, and that the malady might be communicated to the army.

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M. de Vaudreuil, to whom the commanders gave advice of this deſertion, requeſting at the ſame time his orders, anſwered, that although the Algonquins and Abinaquis of Bekancourt ſhould alſo deſert them, they ſhould not fail to purſue their route, and that they might make an irruption on ſome diſtant ſettlement, rather than return without having performed any thing. Des Chaillons communicated this letter to the ſavages, who affirmed that they would follow him wherever he ſhould lead them: they then proceeded to the number of two hundred, and after having gone a hundred and fifty leagues by ways almoſt impracticable, they arrived at Lake Nikiſipik, where they did not find the Abinaquis whom they expected.

It was reſolved, in theſe circumſtances, to march againſt a village called Hewreuil, compoſed of twenty-five or thirty houſes well built, with a fort in which the commandant lodged, and which contained thirty ſoldiers who had recently arrived there, having been ordered thither by the Governor of New England, who upon advice of the march of the French had ſent ſimilar detachments into all the villages of that part of the country.

The French deſpairing of carrying the place by ſurpriſe, believed they might effect it by a ſudden

ſudden attack. They reſted for the night, and next morning, an hour after ſun-riſe, they marched againſt the fort. After a bold reſiſtance they carried it ſword in hand, and ſet fire to it. The houſes which were defended ſhared the ſame fate. Several of the inhabitants were killed, ſome were taken, and ſome were conſumed in the houſes. The ſound of drums and trumpets began to be heard from the neighbouring villages, and not a moment was to be loſt in order to inſure a retreat. This was effected in good order, each taking no greater quantity of proviſions than was neceſſary for his return. The French had ſcarcely advanced half a league, when on entering a wood they fell into an ambuſcade formed by ſeventy men, who before they could be ſeen had each diſcharged his muſket. Both horſemen and foot ſoldiers were advancing behind, and nothing was now left but to make a deſperate attempt againſt the party that had fired. The French threw down their proviſions, and advanced with impetuoſity to the ſpot whence the fire proceeded. So unexpected an attack from perſons who, they ſuppoſed, had been thrown into diſorder, totally diſconcerted them, and moſt of them were killed or taken. The party returned to Montreal with the loſs of about thirty men.

BOOK VII.

1709.

On the 10th of May a perſon called Vetch, who, about four years before, had ſounded all the difficult paſſages of the river St. Lawrence, under pretence of coming to Quebec to treat for an exchange of priſoners, arrived from England, and took poſt at Manhatti, to forward at that place the raiſing of troops, who were to act on the ſide of Montreal. Intelligence of this circumſtance ſoon reached the French, and likewiſe that Vetch had preſented to the Queen of Great Britain a memorial, repreſenting the facility of the conqueſt of Canada, and the great advantages which England might derive from ſuch an acquiſition. It was added, that her majeſty had approved of the project, and had promiſed to Vetch, in caſe of ſucceſs, the government of New France: that ten large and as many ſmall veſſels were fitted out for the expedition. That ſix thouſand regular troops, under the command of an officer named Macardy, were to be embarked in this fleet: that two thouſand Engliſh and as many ſavages were to attack the government of Montreal, and that their rendezvous was ſettled at the river *du Chicot*, two leagues from Lake Champlain, where they were to conſtruct canoes and batteaux, and afterwards to deſcend to Chambly.

M. de Vaudreuil aſſembled without delay a council of war; wherein it was reſolved to march a de-

tachment towards New York, in order to endeavour to diſſipate the ſtorm which was there collecting, that the colony rendered ſecure on that quarter, might re-unite all its ſtrength againſt the Engliſh fleet, if it ſhould come to Quebec. Not a moment was to be loſt in executing this reſolution, and M. de Ramezay, Governor of Montreal, offered to take the command; but his propoſal was not then accepted, and no other reaſon could be aſſigned for this refuſal, but a coolneſs which ſubſiſted between him and the Governor-General. M. de Sabrevois, a captain, was detached with thirty men, to proceed before Rouville, who was not yet returned, and to facilitate his retreat. 1709.

Two months afterwards, there being no longer any doubt that the Engliſh were on their march with a great body of Iroquois and Mahingans, and information having likewiſe been received that ſeveral forts were conſtructed at different diſtances from Orange to Lake George, M. de Vaudreuil yielded at length to the inſtances of the Governor of Montreal. He placed him at the head of fifteen hundred men, compoſed of regular troops, militia, and ſavages.

The General afterwards deſcended to Quebec, to forward the works which were carrying on, and to lay an embargo upon all veſſels which might arrive from France. On the 28th of July

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M. de Ramezay ſet out from Montreal: his van conducted by M. de Montigny, was compoſed of fifty Frenchmen and two hundred Abauquis, ſupported by Rouville with a hundred Canadians. After them marched a hundred regular ſoldiers. The Governor of Montreal followed with five hundred Canadians, diſtributed into five companies. The Iroquois Chriſtians formed the rear guard under the conduct of Joncaire. Some Outaouais and Nepiſſings were placed on the wings.

This army marched forty leagues in three days, and had it gone as far as the enemy's camp, it might have effected ſome ſucceſsful enterpriſe; but the jealouſy ſubſiſting between the officers and their commander, the fault of indiſcipline in the troops, and defective intelligence which was given to M. de Ramezay, tended to render the expedition abortive. After having made ſome priſoners and killed an officer commanding a hundred and twenty men, who had advanced too far, a report was circulated that an army of five thouſand men were not very diſtant, and that they were fortified with intrenchments. The ſavages at the ſame time declared, that it was their opinion that they ought not to proceed further, and that it appeared much more adviſeable to defend the advanced poſts of the colony, than to proceed ſo far in ſearch of an enemy, who

who had poſſeſſed leiſure to fortify his camp, and who could beſides be ſupported by all the young men of Orange and Corlar. On this account a council of war was aſſembled, and it was there reſolved to retreat. The Governor of Montreal was neceſſitated to conform to this deliberation, becauſe he doubted whether, if he advanced, he ſhould be ſeconded by thoſe who were under his command.

On his return to Montreal, towards the middle of September, he received advice by an Iroquois lately arrived from the enemy's camp, that two thouſand five hundred men were in march to build a fort at the extremity of Lake St. Sacrement, or Lake George, and that ſix hundred more were detached to take poſſeſſion of a poſt on Lake Champlain, from whence they could come in two days to Chambly. He immediately diſpatched the ſame ſavage to Quebec, where M. de Vaudreuil then was; and that general, ſeeing no grounds of apprehenſion of a ſiege being laid to the capital, embarked immediately for Montreal, and there aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops and militia, with whom he went to poſt himſelf at Chambly, where he remained for ſome time without hearing any accounts of an enemy. He then formed two detachments of fifty men each, under the orders of Des Chaillon and de Montigny, to reconnoitre the hoſtile camp.

Theſe

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These two officers approached very near to the entrenchments, and were enabled to count the number and to distinguish the size of the canoes.

Some time after, the English burnt their canoes, reduced their forts to ashes, and retired. This measure was embraced on account of the perfidious conduct of the Iroquois. In a council held at Onnontagué, one of their orators demanded, if they had ceased to remember that their nation, situated between two powerful people, capable each of exterminating them, and whose interest it was to effect that object when they should no longer be in want of their assistance, their whole attention should therefore be directed to place them both always under a necessity of courting their aid, and to prevent the one from falling a prey to the other. His discourse made an impression on the assembly, and a resolution was immediately adopted to conduct themselves in the present exigency according to those rules of policy which they had hitherto been accustomed to observe.

The Iroquois had no sooner joined the English army, than fearing, that with the addition of their reinforcement, it would be sufficiently strong to take Montreal, they thought only of the means of weakening it. The army was encamped on the banks of a small river. The Iroquois, who passed almost their whole time in hunting, agreed

to

to throw into it all the ſkins of the animals which they killed, a little way above the camp, and by this means the water ſoon became infected. The Engliſh, unſuſpicious of this diabolical act, continued to drink the water, and died in great numbers. 1709.

It is certain that this mortality, of the cauſe of which the Engliſh were ignorant until a conſiderable time afterwards, obliged the army to remove from ſo baleful a ſituation, and where they were aware, if they remained under ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances until they were attacked, a defeat would probably enſue. They retreated to Manhatti, where they learnt on their arrival that the Engliſh fleet deſtined for the ſiege of Quebec was not at Boſton; and that it had been ſent to Liſbon, where the bad ſucceſs of the Portugueſe arms on the frontiers of Caſtile, in the commencement of the campaign, made the King of Portugal apprehenſive, that if he was not reinforced by timely aſſiſtance, he would be compelled to come to an immediate accommodation with Spain.

BOOK VIII.

Warlike Preparations of the Engliſh.—Conference of the Savage Deputies at Montreal.—Army of the Engliſh march in different Directions to invade Canada.—Retreat of the Armies.—Part of the Engliſh Fleet wrecked on Seven Iſlands.—Outagamis march to attack the Fort at Detroit.—Arrival of the allied Savages to the Relief of that Fort. Outagamis entrench themſelves, build a Fort, and are beſieged.—Reduced to great Extremity.—Refuſe to ſurrender at Diſcretion.—After a Siege of nineteen Days, they eſcape during a Storm.—Are overtaken.—Obſtinate Reſiſtance.—Are compelled to ſurrender at Diſcretion.—Are put to Death.—Governors of New England and of Canada receive, in conſequence of the Treaty of Utrecht, Inſtructions for a Ceſſation of all Hoſtilities.—Fort conſtructed by the Engliſh at the Mouth of the Chouagon, and by the French at Niagara.—Propoſal of M. de Vaudreuil for peopling the Colony.—Death of M. de Vaudreuil.

BOOK VIII.

1710.

ON the following winter the Onnontagués ſent deputies to M. de Vaudreuil, to beſeech him to receive them into his favour. They aſſured him that they had entertained no deſign of injuring the French, but they did not explain the ſcheme which they had practiſed to render uſeleſs the great preparations of the Engliſh. They

They obſerved to him, that the war had not been undertaken with the general conſent of the cantons, nor even of thoſe who had taken up arms. This nation had repeatedly teſtified that it diſapproved of a war between the Engliſh and French, and in a ſecond audience which the deputies had with the General, after the orator had declared his ſorrow at ſeeing two people whom he eſteemed, almoſt ever occupied in hoſtilities for the deſtruction of each other, he added, with a freedom which is known only to barbarians; "Are you then both intoxicated, or is it I who am devoid of underſtanding?" 1710.

He alſo propoſed an exchange of priſoners between the Dutch and French, which was accepted and executed on both ſides. M. de Vaudreuil then ſaid to the deputies, that his allies awaited only a declaration of war againſt the Iroquois, and if they would avoid this misfortune, they muſt remain in tranquillity; that on the firſt movement which he ſhould ſee them make, he would give to all his allies full liberty to fall upon them.

Intelligence being ſoon afterwards received, that the Governor of New York was redoubling his efforts to engage the Iroquois cantons in an offenſive league againſt the French, and the fear of having to reſiſt at the ſame time all thoſe ſavages, whilſt they were threatened with an attack

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tack from the Engliſh, made much impreſſion upon the inhabitants. This induced M. de Vaudreuil to cauſe to deſcend to Montreal as great a part of the ſavages from the upper country as poſſible, not only for the defence of the colony, but to hold the Iroquois in reſpect. He ſent to Michilimakinac two perſons well acquainted with the ſavages, and reſpected by the French allies, to exhort them to come without delay to give to their father proofs of their fidelity and attachment.

It was further neceſſary to ſecure the neutrality of the cantons, and the Baron de Longueuil was ſent, in conjunction with Joncaire and La Chauvignerie, to treat with them, and to aſſure them whilſt they remained quiet ſpectators they ſhould have nothing to apprehend from other nations. But if, notwithſtanding their ſolemn engagements, they ſhould embrace the part of joining themſelves to the enemies of the French, they muſt expect to have all the people of the north and weſt to fall upon them, and to allow them no quarter.

The envoys were well received at Onnontagué, and at Tſonnonthouan, and they conducted to Montreal deputies from theſe two cantons. They avowed to M. de Vaudreuil, that they were powerfully ſolicited by the government of New York to break with the French: they added,

that the fidelity of ſeveral of their nation might be relied on, but that the greateſt part were inclined towards the Engliſh, gained by the preſents which they liberally beſtowed, and perſuaded that the French would fall at length under the great efforts which their enemies were preparing to make in order to overwhelm them on every ſide.

Saint Pierre Tonti and others, who had been ſent to the higher nations, arrived at Montreal with between four and five hundred ſavages, and as the Iroquois deputies were not yet gone, the Governor embraced the opportunity of accommodating a difference which had ſubſiſted for ſome years between the cantons on one part, and ſome of the allies on the other. He found in this affair leſs difficulty than he imagined, and concord was reſtored to the ſatisfaction of both parties.

Intelligence was brought to M. de Vaudreuil, that General Nicholſon was arrived at Boſton with two ſhips of war of ſeventy guns each: that he was to be followed by ſix other veſſels of ſixty guns each, three bomb veſſels, and thirty tranſports, which were to be joined at Boſton by two ſhips of fifty guns, and five tranſports, intended to carry three thouſand militia; and that they only waited for the arrival of the reſt of the fleet in order to ſail.

A corps

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A corps compoſed of the militia of New York, and of the ſavages of that province, amounting to two thouſand men, was ſaid to be aſſembled at Manhatti, and that Canada was the object of theſe warlike preparations. This advice was afterwards confirmed by an Iroquois, whom Teganiſſorens ſent to M. de Vaudreuil, to inform him that the Engliſh fleet had ſailed from Boſton, and that two hundred batteaux had been prepared at Orange; that a hundred more were expected to arrive there, and that Abraham Scuyler, brother of the Governor of Orange, had viſited all the cantons, to engage them to take up arms againſt the French.

On receiving theſe accounts, the Governor-General aſſembled the Iroquois deputies who had accompanied de Longueuil and Joncaire, and communicated to them what he had learnt. He told them that the Dutch had declared themſelves againſt him, notwithſtanding reiterated aſſurances on their part to preſerve neutrality, and the care which he had taken to guard againſt offending them; it was therefore his intention to ſend a party of men to that quarter, but that the Iroquois ought not to be alarmed. He then delivered to them ſome of their countrymen, whom he had reſcued from the hands of the Ouyatanons, and added, that it remained only with them to preſerve, according to their promiſe,

miſe, a neutral conduct: that they ought to call to remembrance the treaty of peace, ſo ſolemnly entered into under his predeceſſor, between all the nations; that they could not diſpenſe with rendering to the French the juſtice of religiouſly obſerving all its conditions, and that it was ſtill more their own intereſt than his, to purſue the line of conduct which he propoſed to them.

The following day he made a great war feaſt, to which he invited all the domiciliated ſavages, and all thoſe of the allies who had come from Montreal. The aſſembly conſiſted of eight hundred warriors, before whom Joncaire and La Chauvignerie raiſed the hatchet, and ſung the ſong of war in the name of Ononthio. All the Iroquois of the Sault Saint Louis, thoſe of the Mountain who were then united with thoſe of the Sault de Recollet, and the Nipiſſings, or Algonquins of the iſland of Montreal, anſwered to it with loud applauſe. The ſavages of the upper country were ſcrupulous in declaring themſelves, becauſe they were almoſt the whole commercially connected with the Engliſh, from whom they derived greater profits than from the French; but twenty Hurons of Detroit having taken up the hatchet, all followed their example, and aſſured the General that he might diſpoſe of them as of the ſubjects of his King.

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The Governor-General did not think it neceſſary to retain the whole of theſe ſavages, and immediately diſpatched the greateſt part of them, as well as the deputies of the Iroquois, becauſe the ſeaſon was already far advanced. He was ſatisfied with keeping near him a few of each nation, that he might evince to the Engliſh and to the Iroquois, that he had an entire authority over his allies.

M. de Vaudreuil, on his arrival at Quebec, found all the orders which he had given to M. de Boucourt well executed, and the place in a condition to ſuſtain a ſiege of ſome length. All the coaſts below Quebec were ſo well guarded, that an enemy could not diſembark at any of the ſettlements without being obliged to come to ſkirmiſhing, which the diſadvantage of the land, being covered with wood, rendered it dangerous to attempt. Several ſhips were ſeen in the river, by the inhabitants, but at a great diſtance below Quebec. In a few days after this intelligence was received, two ſmall veſſels arrived from Gaſpé, the maſters of which affirmed that they had ſeen no ſhips in the river. The General then ſent M. de Ramezay to Montreal with ſix hundred men, which he had brought down with him. He ſoon after followed with ſix hundred more ſoldiers, which, joined to thoſe remaining under

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under the orders of M. de Longueuil, to guard the head of the colony, compoſed an army of three thouſand men, who were marched to Chambly and there encamped. His deſign was, in this poſition, to await General Nicholſon, whom he knew to be in march on that ſide; but he ſoon after learnt that an army, in which were many of the Iroquois, had retreated, and Rouville was immediately detached with two hundred men to acquire more certain information reſpecting it. This officer marched, without meeting any perſon, beyond the Great Portage, which is on the road to Orange, and was there joined by three Frenchmen who had been ſent to that village in the month of June. They were ſet at liberty after the return of General Nicholſon, and informed Rouville that the conſternation in Orange had been great, at the news of a miſfortune that had happened to the Engliſh fleet.

The retreat of the two Engliſh armies which was to have attacked New France at the ſame time, by ſea and land, and to divide its forces by occupying them at the two extremities of the colony, being no longer doubtful, and a report having been circulated that the firſt was ſhipwrecked in the river St. Lawrence, near the Seven Iſlands, the Governor ſent thither ſeveral barks. They there found the remains of eight

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large veſſels, whoſe cannon and ſtores had been taken out, and the bodies of a number of drowned perſons caſt upon the ſhores.

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The Engliſh admiral had, it was afterwards learnt, on board of his ſhip a French priſoner named Paradis, an old navigator, and who was well acquainted with the river St. Lawrence. This man informed the admiral, that when he was near the Traverſe of the Seven Iſlands, he ought not to approach too near towards the land, and as the wind was unfavourable, and they could only ſail upon a tack, they were frequently obliged to put about. The admiral at length grew weary of this manœuvre, and perhaps ſuſpected it was only ordered by the pilot to harraſs the ſailors. He therefore refuſed to allow the ſhip to tack ſo often, and approached ſo near to a little iſland called *Ile aux Œufs*, where he was overtaken by a ſquall from the ſouth-eaſt, that his own, together with ſeven other ſhips of his fleet were driven upon the rocks, and very few of the crews were ſaved.

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It was reported that the Engliſh were preparing another fleet to beſiege Quebec, and the Governor-General found by the generoſity of the merchants of that place, a ſum of fifty thouſand crowns, to be applied towards ſtrengthening the fortifications. Advice was at the ſame time received, that the Engliſh were reconciled with the Iroquois,

Iroquois, and hoped to engage this reſtleſs nation, in exciting diſturbances in the north and weſt of Canada. 1712.

There was reaſon for ſuppoſing, that if Joncaire had not ſecured the neutrality of the Tſonnonthouans, and the Baron De Longueuil had not negotiated with his uſual addreſs, among the Onnontagués, the French would have found themſelves in a ſtate of embarraſſment, which it would not have been eaſy to have ſurmounted. Deputies of the cantons at length came to offer new excuſes for the paſt, and great proteſtations of an inviolable fidelity in the performance of their future engagements. It was neceſſary to pretend a belief of their ſincerity: M. de Vaudreuil ſpoke to them, however, with firmneſs, and made them afterwards conſiderable preſents, ſending them home with a diſpoſition more favourable towards the French than that with which they had ſet out.

Not long before this period the Iroquois had excited againſt the French a new enemy, equally brave with themſelves, leſs political, more ferocious, whom it never was poſſible either to ſubdue or to gain, and who like ſome inſects, which appear to have as many lives as different parts of the body, regenerated, it may be ſaid, after their defeat, and reduced almoſt to a handful of robbers, were found in every quarter, and be-

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1712. came an object of dread to all the people of that part of the continent, interrupting for a ſpace of twenty-five years the commerce of the country, and rendering the roads almoſt impaſſable for a circuit of five hundred leagues. Theſe were the Outagamis, commonly ſtiled the Foxes.

Until the time to which we allude they were but little known in Canada, but they had lately entered into a confederacy with the Iroquois, and had undertaken to burn the fort of Detroit, and to kill all the inhabitants. To execute this deſign they had come in great numbers to the vicinity of that place, and there was no ſpecies of inſult which they did not offer to the commandant.

The Kikapous and the Maſcontins had entered into their deſign; the latter had already arrived, and they only waited for the former to put it in execution, when they received advice that an Outaouais chief, named Jaguirna, and ſome Pouteouatamis, had killed about a hundred and fifty Maſcontins. They became enraged at theſe news, and a Chriſtian Outagami, much attached to the French, informed the commandant that his fort would be immediately attacked. He had then with him only twenty Frenchmen, and his principal reſource was in the Hurons, the Outaouais, and ſome other ſavages, with whom he was allied, but who were then employed in the chace.

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He ſent to deſire they would haſten to his aid: he cauſed to be demoliſhed all the houſes erected on the outſide of the fort, and took every other meaſure which the time would allow to ſuſtain the firſt efforts of the enemy. On the 13th of May he received accounts of the approach of his allies, among whom were Outaouais, Hurons, Pouteoutamis, Sakis, Malhomines, Ilinois, Oſages, Miſſourites, and each nation carried its particular ſtandard. This army ſtopped at the village of the Hurons, who were of opinion that they ought not to encamp, but proceed forthwith to the French fort. They ſent forth a general cry, with which the country reſounded, and were immediately anſwered by the enemy, who detached forty of their number, naked, but painted in a frightful manner, to obſerve the confederates.

The allies being near the fort, the chiefs ſent to demand permiſſion to enter, and the gates were immediately opened. Du Buiſſon the commandant gave them a reception proportioned to the ſervice which they had rendered him, and after they had all taken their places around him, according to the ſavage cuſtom, the perſon who ſpoke in name of the whole addreſſed him as follows: "Behold, my father, thy children "around thee. We fear not death; we will "cheerfully periſh, if neceſſary, in defence of

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"our father: the only favour which we require "of thee, is to engage Ononthio, the father of "all the nations, to take care of our wives and "children, and that thou ſhouldſt cover our "dead bodies. Thou ſeeſt that we have quitted "our villages and families to come to thy aid; "we came from thence with ſuch expedition, "that we have neither brought ammunition nor "proviſions; we therefore hope that thou wilt "ſupply us with both." The commandant returned them thanks in a few words, and diſtributed proviſions, lead, powder, and tobacco.

The Outagamis had conſtructed a fort not far from the French, where they had entrenched themſelves with conſiderable ſtrength; however, they ſcarcely had time to perceive that they were inveſted on every quarter, when the conſtant fire that was kept up on them obliged them to dig deeper into the earth. The beſiegers then preparing a kind of ſcaffold, of twenty-five feet high, from whence they fired with ſuch advantage into the fort, that the enemy could no longer go out to procure water, and their proviſions being ſoon conſumed, they ſuffered much from hunger and thirſt. In this extremity, deriving courage from deſpair, they fought with much reſolution, and the victory was long doubtful. They placed on their palliſadoes pieces of cloth

cloth for flags, crying out with all their force, that they had no other father but the Engliſh, who would not fail to come to their aſſiſtance, or to avenge their death. They got poſſeſſion of a houſe which was not entirely demoliſhed, and which joined their fort. They there raiſed a redoubt, from whence they fired under cover of the gable. But it being at length levelled by cannon ſhot, the enemy ſent forth dreadful cries, and ſoon after ſent to aſk permiſſion to preſent deputies to M. Buiſſon. Before allowing them this indulgence, he wiſhed to procure the conſent of the chiefs, and aſſembled them in council: they were of opinion, that this opportunity ought to be embraced in order to draw from their hands three women who were priſoners among them. They were then made acquainted that their deputies would be received. Next morning the chief of the Outagamis, named Pemouſſa, accompanied by two warriors, preſented himſelf at the entrance of the camp; he was admitted, and introduced into the council which was aſſembled. He placed before the commandant two captives and a collar, praying that he would allow two days, that the old men might deliberate on the means of appeaſing him, and of giving him ſatisfaction. He then turned himſelf towards the ſavages, made them a preſent

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ſent of two ſlaves, and a collar, and ſpoke thus:

"Remember that we are your brethren, and "that in ſhedding our blood, it is your own "which you ſpill. I therefore ſupplicate you to "ſoften the ſpirit of our father, whom we have "unhappily provoked: theſe two ſlaves are to "replace the blood which we have occaſioned "to be loſt." As the ſavages made no reply, Du Buiſſon gave the deputies to underſtand that he could not be aſſured of the ſincerity of their repentance, becauſe they had not brought back the wife of Saguima, and the two women they had taken with her, and that he would not liſten to any accommodation until they produced theſe three captives. Pemouſſa excuſed himſelf by obſerving, that this depended not upon him, but that he would make known the requeſt to his ancients. They granted him the remaining part of the day, and aſſured him that all firing ſhould ceaſe until his return, provided no perſon went out of the fort. Two hours afterwards, two Maſcoutin chiefs and an Outagami arrived with a white flag in their hand, followed by three women whom they preſented to the commandant. They expreſſed much regret for having diſpleaſed him, and conjured him to allow their whole party liberty to withdraw. Du Buiſſon replied, that

it

it reſted not with him; that for this they muſt addreſs his allies, to whom he had given his word, that they ſhould be abſolute maſters to act in this buſineſs according to their pleaſure. BOOK VIII. 1712.

This anſwer was much applauded by the ſavages, and the principal chief of the Ilinois ſaid in the name of the whole, addreſſing himſelf to the deputies, "Your paſt conduct, and the engagements you have entered into with our enemies, leave us no room to doubt that you have ſome evil intention in demanding from our father liberty to retire: you would no ſooner have left your camp, than you would begin to form ſome new machination againſt him, and you would come to attack him at a time when perhaps we ſhould be too remote to aſſiſt him. You believed that we were ignorant of the engagements which you have entered into for this purpoſe with his enemies, and of the promiſes you have made to eſtabliſh them here, after having exterminated all the children of Ononthio; but you are deceived. Know then that it is our final reſolution not to receive you but at diſcretion, and not to ſtir from hence until we have compelled you thus to ſurrender: even our father ſhall not oblige us to alter it, and in this inſtance we would diſobey him. We are better acquainted than he with the depravity of your heart, and

"we

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" we ſhall not abandon him to your mercy. " Enter quickly into your fort: we only wait " for this, in order to renew our fire."

The deputies returned with this unexpected anſwer, and as ſoon as they had entered their fort the attack went on with renewed vigour. The defence was not leſs obſtinate. The beſieged let fly three hundred arrows at once, at the ends of which they placed lighted matches, and fuſes with gunpowder, in order to ſet fire to the French fort; they there burnt ſeveral houſes covered with ſtraw, and it was neceſſary, to prevent the flames from ſpreading, to cover the remaining buildings with bear and deer ſkins, and throw a great quantity of water upon them.

A reſiſtance ſo determined, at length wearied the confederates: they deſpaired of the ſucceſs of their enterpriſe, and pretended to be afraid that the French would relax in furniſhing them with proviſions. The French who ſaw them almoſt reſolved to retire, and who by their retreat would be expoſed to the rage of an irritated people, began to think of embarking for Michilimakinac, and Du Buiſſon was upon the point of flying before enemies, whom he had reduced to the laſt extremity, and whom two days before he had ſeen on their knees, conjuring him to content himſelf with their becoming his ſlaves. It was neceſſary, in order to regain the ſavage chiefs,

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chiefs, and to rekindle their expiring valour, to deſpoil himſelf of every thing he had, and when he believed he had engaged by his liberality each individual in his favour, he aſſembled the council. He there complained that they were about to abandon him to the moſt formidable danger, after having engaged him to continue the combat. He expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that ſo many brave warriors would renounce a victory which was certain, and creditable to them. Some of the chiefs ſeemed ſurprized at his diſcourſe, and interrupted him by an aſſurance that they had ever reſolved to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood, rather than leave the enterpriſe unfiniſhed, and that they could not comprehend who could have inſpired him with the unjuſt ſuſpicions which he had expreſſed. The whole made the ſame proteſtation; they ſung anew the ſong of war, and each reſumed his poſt: the beſieged foreſaw that they had no other hopes but from the hard conditions which were propoſed to them. It has been obſerved, that among the confederates were ſome Sukis: there were alſo ſeveral among the enemy; becauſe this nation was divided into two factions, one of which was attached to the Outagamis, and the other to the Pouteouatamis. The part of that nation which was blockaded with the former almoſt totally deſerted it, and from hence it was learnt that the beſieged were

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at the laſt extremity; that they ſuffered more from hunger and thirſt, than from the fire of the beſieged: that they had already loſt eighty men, and that their fort was filled with dead carcaſſes, which cauſed a terrible infection. All this was found to be perfectly true, and the enemy ſhortly after demanded a parly. It was believed they would ſurrender at diſcretion, and it was permitted that they ſhould ſend deputies. Two chiefs, one of whom was Pemouſſa, came forthwith, accompanied by ſeveral priſoners, and in a condition which appeared calculated to impreſs the confederates with ſentiments of pity. They ſaid, that they dared not to hope that their lives would be granted to them, but that they demanded pardon for their old men, their women, and children. "Remember," added they, "that "we are your relatives: it is your own blood "after which you ſeem to thirſt: would it not "be more honourable for you to ſpare, and "more advantageous to have us for your "ſlaves?" Pity never finds an eaſy admiſſion into the breaſts of ſavages, and the long reſiſtance of the enemy had irritated the beſiegers. They perſiſted in the demand that the Outagamis and their allies ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion. Some of them even propoſed to Du Buiſſon to maſſacre the deputies, but he anſwered with diſpleaſure, that they muſt be mad to offer to him ſuch

ſuch a propoſal: that theſe two men had come to him, relying on his word, which he had given them in conſequence of the conſent of the council, and that he would never ſuffer the ſmalleſt outrage to be committed on them whilſt they were in his fort.

They replied, that theſe two envoys were the authors of all the miſchief; and having themſelves frequently had recourſe to perfidious meaſures, they did not merit ſo ſcrupulous a conduct with reſpect to them; but that, in the end, they would gain nothing even by this. The commandant replied, that it became neither him nor them to imitate their example, and he ſent back the two deputies, telling them that he had no other anſwer to make than that which had already been given. The only hope which remained to theſe wretched people, was to be able to make their eſcape in bad weather, and after the nineteenth day of the ſiege, a violent ſtorm accompanied with rain having occaſioned the beſiegers to withdraw, they embraced the opportunity which offered, and made their eſcape in the night.

Their flight was diſcovered next morning at day-break, and they were immediately purſued. They were found entrenched at four leagues diſtance from their former ſituation, upon a peninſula which advances into Lake Saint Clair, and

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and as their intrenchments were concealed, the aſſailants having approached with little precaution, had more than twenty men killed or wounded. It was neceſſary to re-commence a ſiege, which continued four days, and would have been protracted to a much greater length of time if the French commandant had not ordered out two field-pieces. The beſieged then ſurrendered at diſcretion, and almoſt the whole of thoſe who had arms in their hands were, without mercy, inſtantly maſſacred. The remainder, amounting to a hundred and fifty, without including the women and children, were made ſlaves, and ſhared amongſt the confederate nations, who kept them not long, and put to death almoſt the whole before they ſeparated.

The loſs of the allies amounted to ſixty men killed or wounded; the Hurons, among whom were twenty-five Iroquois Chriſtians, diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt, and loſt more of their number, but this expedition coſt the enemy more than a thouſand perſons.

Du Buiſſon there acquired much credit from his firmneſs, and diſintereſtedneſs, which led him to deprive himſelf of every thing in his poſſeſſion in order to beſtow it on the allies. The fruit of this victory was, that the Engliſh laid aſide the thought of forming an eſtabliſhment at Detroit, which would have entirely ruined New France, not

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not only on account of the ſituation of this place, which is the centre of, as well as the fineſt country in Canada; but likewiſe, becauſe it would have been impracticable to hold the ſmalleſt communication with the ſavages of the higher countries, nor with Louiſiana.

There ſtill remained many ſubjects of difference to be ſettled amongſt the French allies, and in order to ſucceed in effecting an accommodation, it was conceived neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh the fort of Michilimakinac. Towards the end of this year ſeveral officers of merit and experience were ſent to viſit the nations of the north, and of the weſt, and to prevail on them to forget all ſubjects of diſcontent which they might have occaſioned to each other. M. de Louvigny was alſo ſent to rebuild the fort. The whole of this buſineſs was executed with as much ſucceſs as conduct, and tranquillity was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed in Canada.

It was however impoſſible to engage theſe people not to carry their furs to the Engliſh, as they had openly done for ſeveral years. Even the domiciliated ſavages followed the torrent, and it would have been neceſſary, in order to remedy this inconvenience, to augment in France the price of the beaver, and diminiſh in Canada that of the merchandiſe uſed in exchange for the furs. The firſt of theſe expedients did not depend on

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thoſe engaged in the traffic, but if they had rightly comprehended their intereſts, they would have carried into effect the ſecond, by cauſing to be ſent every year to Quebec merchandiſe on their own account, to an amount equal to the extent of their credit. This influx of manufactures into the colony would have leſſened their value, and would have enabled the merchants to afford them to the ſavages at a cheaper rate; but the ideas of the French commercial body in Canada were not yet ſufficiently enlarged, to be perſuaded of the propriety and advantage of ſuch a meaſure. The commerce of furs fell, therefore, almoſt entirely into the hands of the Engliſh.

In the mean time, although the negotiations for peace were not yet terminated at Utrecht, the Governor-Generals of New France and of New England received from their reſpective ſovereigns preciſe orders for a total ceſſation of every act of hoſtility between the two colonies and their allies. A little time after, news was received that the Queen of Great Britain had withdrawn from the league which was formed to dethrone the Catholic King, Philip the Fifth. Nothing could be more fortunate for the government of Boſton, where the Abinaquis were committing great ravages; and this circumſtance was a principal reaſon why the court of London would never relax, reſpecting the ceſſion of Acadia.

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Acadia. It ſhewed the ſame firmneſs with regard to the French poſſeſſions in Newfoundland, and in Hudſon's Bay; and Louis the Fourteenth, who had his reaſons for not throwing any obſtacle in the way of the treaty which he was about to conclude with her Britannic Majeſty, ſacrificed at length all thoſe provinces, and the right which he pretended to poſſeſs of ſovereignty over the five Iroquois cantons.

This laſt article took from the French nothing in reality, and conferred as little on the Engliſh, becauſe theſe cantons renewed the proteſtations, which they had more than once made, againſt the reciprocal pretenſions of their neighbours, and well knew how to maintain themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their liberty and independance. The Engliſh, who procured from them part of the advantages which the ſovereignty of the nations would have given them, never thought it prudent to ſubdue them; they were afterwards ſatisfied with building a fort at the mouth of the Chouguen, on Lake Ontario. But as the Onnontagués ſaw, without oppoſition, this eſtabliſhment made on their territories, the French obtained from the Tſonnonthouans permiſſion to erect a ſimilar fort on the river Niagara, nearly on the ſame ſpot which the Marquis de Denonville had before fortified. They refuſed to the Engliſh the ſame permiſſion, ſaying that they

BOOK VIII. 1712. were at liberty to admit into their country whom they pleaſed, and that they would not ſuffer in it, at the ſame time, two different people, who by their mutual hatred would diſturb their tranquillity.

1714. The Iroquois came this year to renew their alliance with the Governor-General, and offered him their mediation in caſe of a new rupture with the Engliſh. He now began ſeriouſly to reflect upon ſome plan for fortifying and peopleing the colony, whoſe inhabitants, inſtead of augmenting, he ſaw with regret diminiſhing in their number. He ſtated to M. Pontchartrain, the miniſter of France, that Canada poſſeſſed no more than four thouſand four hundred and eighty inhabitants in a ſtate to carry arms, from the age of fourteen to ſixty years, and that the twenty-eight companies of marine paid by the King amounted to no more than ſix hundred and twenty-eight ſoldiers. This ſmall number of perſons was ſpread over an extent of a hundred leagues. That the Engliſh colonies had ſixty thouſand men in a ſtate to carry arms, and there could be little doubt that on the firſt rupture they would make a powerful effort to get poſſeſſion of Canada. With reſpect to the means of completing the companies of the King's troops, there could be no difficulty, after the great reduction which had taken place in France. On the

the ſubject of augmenting the number of the inhabitants, he was aware it might be objected, that able men did not abound in any of the provinces of the kingdom of France, and that the exhauſted ſtate of the finances did not admit of making large advances for conveying new coloniſts to America, and for enabling them to ſubſiſt there, until they could by their induſtry ſupply themſelves with the neceſſaries of life. He endeavoured, however, to obviate theſe difficulties and objections by propoſing a new expedient, which appeared to him more eaſily attainable. BOOK VIII. 1714.

There were every year a conſiderable number of criminals condemned to the galleys, for whoſe ſervices the King had little occaſion, and who might be made uſeful in cultivating the lands; their expence was paid by the farmers general, and a hundred and fifty of theſe unfortunate perſons might be ſpared every year for Canada. The farmers general would get them conducted to Rochelle, and might pay for each a hundred and fifty livres, on which they ſhould have a final diſcharge againſt all future claims. Their expences amounted to a hundred *francs* a-year each, and there was not one who was not condemned to labour for at leaſt eighteen months, and ſome for ten years. All that the farmers general could deſire was, that they ſhould not

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return to France, for which M. de Vaudreuil engaged to be reſponſible.

1714. If the King ſhould agree to this propoſal, all the veſſels which were deſtined for Canada might each be obliged to receive a ſtated number, ſo that the whole of the convicts tranſported annually ſhould amount to a hundred and fifty men, for each of whom fifty livres ſhould be paid on his arrival in the colony. That they ſhould be diſtributed among the inhabitants, to work as hired ſervants, for a ſpace of three years, after the expiration of which they ſhould be free, but without the power of returning to France; and to place them in a condition to provide for themſelves, a hundred livres, a part of the hundred and fifty already mentioned, ſhould be placed in the hands of their maſters, who ſhould be obliged after the three years of ſervice to give them fifty crowns. The inhabitants would think themſelves fortunate to procure men upon ſuch conditions, and this would imperceptibly cauſe an augmentation of coloniſts accuſtomed to labour.

The Outagamis, more irritated than weakened by the great loſs which they had ſuſtained at Detroit two years ago, infeſted by their robberies, and ſtained with their cruelties and maſſacres, not only the environs of the bay of Lake Michigan, their native country, but almoſt all the routes

routes which formed the communication with the distant posts of the colony, and those which conducted to Louisiana. Except the Sioux, who frequently joined them, and the Iroquois, with whom they had entered into an alliance, but who appeared not to assist them openly, all the nations connected with the French suffered much from their hostility, and it was to be apprehended that if they shewed too great a desire to remedy that evil, the greatest part of the nations would come to an accommodation with these barbarians. BOOK VIII. 1714.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil therefore proposed, that they should unite with him for the expulsion of the common enemy. They each gave their consent, and a party of Frenchmen was raised, the command of which was given to M. de Louvigny. A number of savages joined him on his journey, and he soon found himself at the head of eight hundred men, resolved not to lay aside their arms whilst an Outagamis remained in Canada. It was generally believed that this nation was on the eve of being entirely destroyed: of this it was itself persuaded when it saw the storm forming against it; and every one had no other hope but that of selling his life as dear as possible.

More than five hundred warriors, and three thousand women, were shut up in a kind of fort,

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1714. ſurrounded by three ranges of palliſades made of oak, with a ditch before them. Three hundred men were in march to reinforce them, but they arrived not in time. M. de Louvigny attacked them in form; he had two field-pieces and a ſmall mortar; he opened the trenches at thirty-five toiſes diſtant from the fort, and on the third day he had advanced within twelve toiſes from it, although the beſieged kept up a conſtant fire from their muſkets. He then made a diſpoſition for playing off mines under their curtains, which when they perceived, they demanded to capitulate the ſame evening, and propoſed conditions, which were rejected. Soon afterwards they preſented others, which the commandant communicated to the ſavages. They imported, that the Outagamis and their confederates ſhould make peace with the French and their allies; that they ſhould immediately reſtore all the priſoners they had made; that they ſhould replace the dead by ſlaves whom they would procure from the diſtant nations with whom they were at war; and that they ſhould defray to the French and their allies, from the produce of their chace, the expences of the preſent war.

M. de Louvigny ſtated, that his allies, to whom he gave the few beaver ſkins with which the Outagamis preſented him, had approved that he ſhould pardon the beſieged, upon the conditions offered,

offered, but he deceived himſelf if he believed them ſincere. They did not afterwards diſſemble their diſcontent; he however left them to their diſcretion, and returned to Quebec, where he had the gratification of being well received by the General, and of hearing in the following year that his conduct was approved of by the court, and evidently ſhewed that he had ſtrictly obeyed the orders which had been given him: the ſequel will evince, that the orders had been framed without a ſufficient knowledge of the cauſe they were intended to remove. M. de Louvigny, on granting peace to the Outagamis, had received of them ſix hoſtages, all chiefs, or ſons of chiefs, as a ſecurity for the obſervance of the engagements into which they had entered, to ſend to Montreal deputies to ratify the treaty with the Governor-General: and this treaty, which they delivered in writing to Louvigny, expreſsly related to the ceſſion of their country to the French. 1714.

Unfortunately the ſmall pox, which the following winter made great ravages in the colony, and amongſt the neighbouring nations, cut off three of the hoſtages who died at Montreal, and among others the famous warrior and chief Pemouſſa, who had been ſpared at the maſſacre of Detroit, and from whoſe influence the Governor had hoped to derive conſiderable advantages. The 1716.

apprehenſion

BOOK VIII. 1716.

apprehenſion entertained by the General that this misfortune would derange the treaty, obliged him to aſcend to Montreal in the winter, and as ſoon as the navigation was open, he intended to have diſpatched M. de Louvigny to Michilimakinac, with an order to execute the conditions accepted by the Outagamis, to conduct to Montreal the chiefs of that nation, and thoſe of all the others, and at the ſame time to cauſe to deſcend into the colony all the *Coureurs de Bois*, to whom the King intended to grant an amneſty.

Louvigny could not depart until the end of May in the following year. He took with him one of the hoſtages who had been attacked by the ſmall pox, and had loſt an eye, that he might teſtify to his nation the care which had been taken of him and his colleagues. On his arrival at Michilimakinac he diſpatched this man to the Outagamis, with preſents to cover the dead, and ſent with him two interpreters who were Frenchmen: they were well received, and they ſung the calumet. After having allowed ſome days to the relations of the deceaſed to bewail their loſs, they aſſembled to hear the account given by the hoſtage. He ſpoke with conſiderable ability, and blamed the chiefs for not having come to Michilimakinac. The nation then declared to the interpreter, that it was ſenſible of the kind-

neſs

neſs which Ononthio continued to ſhew them, but that many reaſons prevented the deputies from going this year to viſit him: it promiſed that next year it ſhould be acquitted of its engagement, gave this promiſe in writing, and added, that it ſhould never fail to recollect that it owed its preſent exiſtence to the clemency of its father. The hoſtage ſet out with the interpreters to rejoin M. de Louvigny, but after having proceeded twenty leagues he forſook them, ſaying, that it was proper he ſhould return to his nation, to oblige it to perform the promiſe which had been given.

This man was never after heard of; his nation ſent no deputies to the Governor-General, and M. de Louvigny gained no other advantage by his journey, than to bring back into the colony almoſt all the deſerters; he engaged a great number of ſavages to carry their furs to Montreal, where for a length of time ſo great a quantity had not been brought. M. de Vaudreuil long amuſed himſelf with the hope, that the Outagamis would ſend him deputies; but they left him to reflect on an obſervation, of which the occurrences of human life give frequent example, that an enemy driven to the point of deſpair is always irreconcileable. They have ſince been beaten in various rencounters,

but

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but they have on their part obliged the Ilinois to abandon their river, and although, after their repeated defeats, it was difficult to conceive that a ſufficient number would remain to form a ſmall village, it was not ſafe to paſs from Canada to Louiſiana without taking great precautions againſt being ſurpriſed by them. They united, it is true, with the Sioux, the moſt numerous nation in Canada, and with the Chicachas, the moſt brave of the ſavages of Louiſiana.

1716.

1725. The death of M. de Vaudreuil on the 10th of October of this year was ſincerely felt by the colony. The ſorrow which was manifeſted on the part of the inhabitants was proportionate to the ſatisfaction which had been diſplayed when he was firſt appointed to the government, over which he preſided for twenty-one years, and the fortunate events which took place during that period were in a great degree derived from his vigilance, firmneſs, and good conduct, and from the ſucceſs which almoſt uniformly accompanied all his enterpriſes.

The Chevalier de Beauharnois, captain of the marine, ſucceeded him in the following year, and the repoſe which his government enjoyed induced him to form the plan of an enterpriſe for penetrating to the South Sea.

Louiſiana

Louiſiana was at this period ſo intimately connected with Canada, by means of the Ilinois, that we ſhall revert, in the following books of this volume, to the diſcoveries of the Sieur de la Sale, and ſhall now proceed to ſtate the unfortunate iſſue of his endeavours to find the mouth of the Miſſiſippi by coaſting the Mexican gulph. 1725.

BOOK IX.

De la Sale ſails from France, in a Squadron, for the Diſcovery of the Mouth of the Miſſiſippi, by Sea.—Arrives off St. Domingo.—Loſs of one of his Veſſels.—Arrives at Bay St. Bernard.—His Pink is wrecked.—Return of the Frigate to France.—Conſtructs a Fort at the Mouth of a River.—Aſcends that River and conſtructs another Fort.—Abandons the former.—Loſs of the Ship La Belle.—La Sale returns from viſiting the Country of the Cenis.—Sets out with a Party to penetrate to the Miſſiſippi, and thence to the Ilinois.—Murder of three of his Party.—His own tragical Death.—His Character.—Two of his Murderers deſtroy each other.—Party ſet out for the Cenis.—Seven Frenchmen accompany theſe Savages in a War Expedition.—Victory.—Ceremonies.—Joutel and Cavelier ſeparate their Party from the Murderers of La Sale.—Set out for the Ilinois,—arrive at the Akauſas,—at the Miſſiſippi,—at the Ilinois,—at Quebec,—in France.—The Clamcoëts fall upon Fort St. Louis, and maſſacre all the Inhabitants, except the three young Talons, their young Siſter, and a young Pariſian.—Remainder of thoſe concerned in La Sale's Murder confined in Chains, to be ſent to the Mines of New Mexico.—The young Talons and their Siſter, by a ſingular Series of Events, are reſtored, after an Abſence of ſeveral Years, to their Country, and their Friends.

BOOK IX.

AMID the vaſt variety of human characters, there is no virtue which is not mingled with ſome defects. It is a reflection not leſs true

true than humiliating, that the greateſt faults ſhould not unfrequently accompany the moſt eminent qualities, and that jealouſy, which *theſe* fail not to inſpire in others, ſhould find always in *thoſe* a ſpecious pretext to cover the meanneſs and injuſtice of that paſſion.

It is the province of men, to whom the reins of government are aſſigned, to throw light upon this labyrinth of error, to draw forth truth from the veil of obſcurity with which paſſion hath ſurrounded it, and to endeavour ſo completely to develope the propenſities of the perſons whom they mean to employ on ſervices of importance, that in profiting by their good qualities they may guard againſt the operation of ſuch as may have a contrary tendency.

Theſe reflections were particularly applicable to M. de Seignelay, miniſter of France, and to M. de la Sale, when it was reſolved to make uſe of his ſervices. The latter, encouraged by the favourable reception with which he was honoured, propoſed a deſign which he had formed to explore the ſea at the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, thereby to open a navigation for the veſſels of France, and to ſettle an eſtabliſhment on that part of the American continent.

Having completed the outlines of his plan, the miniſter delivered to him his commiſſion, which imported that all the French and ſavages who ſhould

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ſhould be found from fort St. Louis of the Ilinois, as far as New Biſcay, ſhould be under his orders, and that the commandant of the ſquadron which ſhould carry him from France to America ſhould execute whatever he ſhould preſcribe on the voyage, and ſhould afford him on his landing all the aid which he ſhould require, provided it did not tend to prejudice the ſafety of the King's ſhips.

Four ſhips of different dimenſions were armed at Rochefort, and two hundred and forty-five perſons were therein embarked, beſides the complement of men on board a frigate. The remainder was compoſed of a hundred ſoldiers, a Canadian family, about thirty volunteers, ſome females, and a certain number of ſervants and artificers. There was, beſides, a citizen of Rouen, named Joutel, who had long ſerved in the army, and in whom M. de la Sale diſcovering ſtrong marks of capacity and genius, made him his intendant of affairs, an office which he diſcharged with the greateſt fidelity. It was from the memoirs of this man that the only relation of the voyage and diſcoveries of M. de la Sale, on which reliance can be placed, was afforded to the public.

The four veſſels which were deſtined to convey this ſmall colony, were the Ioli, a frigate of forty guns, commanded by M. de Beaujeu; an

armed veſſel of ſix guns, named La Belle, which the King had given to M. de la Sale; the Aimable of three hundred tons, and a ſmall pink of thirty tons loaded with ammunition.

This ſquadron ſailed from Rochelle the 24th of July 1684, in company with a fleet for the iſlands, and for Canada, which were to remain under the orders of Beaujeu until they were out of the view of Europe; but, by an accident which happened to one of the maſts of the frigate, they were obliged to put back to Rochelle. They again ſet ſail on the 1ſt of Auguſt, and on the 16th they came in ſight of Madeira. The captain of the frigate propoſed to M. de la Sale that they ſhould anchor there, to take in a ſupply of freſh water, and to purchaſe refreſhments. To this propoſal De la Sale would by no means conſent, ſaying, that they had only been fifteen days at ſea, conſequently, they ought neither to be in want of water nor proviſions; that they could not ſtop at Madeira without unprofitably loſing at leaſt eight days; that his enterpriſe demanded the greateſt ſecrecy, eſpecially with reſpect to the Spaniards, who could not fail from thence to take umbrage, if it became known to them; and it would be difficult to conceal it, if they ſhould make their appearance in an iſland ſo near to the Canaries, of which the King of Spain was ſovereign: in a word, that ſuch was not the inten-

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tion of his majeſty, whoſe inſtructions relative to this expedition were known to him alone.

This anſwer much diſpleaſed M. de Beaujeu, and put the whole ſhip's company in a bad humour againſt M. de la Sale. On their arrival at St. Domingo this miſunderſtanding was carried to a ſtill greater length. De la Sale had orders from the miniſter for M. de Cuſſi, who commanded in that iſland, and theſe particularly regarded his intended enterpriſe. M. de Cuſſi's uſual reſidence was at Port de Paix, which is on the north ſide of the iſland, and it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe that they ſhould there come to an anchor. M. de Beaujeu did not however find it convenient, and anchored at the Petit Goave, on the weſtern ſide, where he arrived on the 27th of September. He there learnt that the Governor was at Port de Paix, with the Chevalier St. Laurent, Lieutenant-Governor, and M. Begon, intendant of the American iſlands, who, in virtue of a ſpecial commiſſion from the King, had come to St. Domingo to aid M. de Cuſſi in making ſome new regulations of police, to give a more conſiſtent form to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and to remedy many diſorders which tended to ruin the commerce of this infant colony.

M. de la Sale wrote to the Governor, requeſting that he would come to viſit him, becauſe he had many things to communicate relative to the King's

King's ſervice, it being impracticable for him to leave his ſquadron to wait on the Governor at Port de Paix. Not only the Governor, but the Chevalier de St. Laurent, and even M. Begon, cheerfully undertook the voyage to Petit Goave, where they found M. de la Sale extremely ill. His malady was chiefly occaſioned by vexation and diſappointment: he had learnt a few days before, that his armed veſſel had been taken off the coaſt of St. Domingo by two Spaniſh gallies; an accident which might have been avoided had they anchored at Port de Paix, and which contributed not a little to augment the ill humour which prevailed between him and Beaujeu.

The reaſon which actuated this commander obſtinately to perſiſt in a matter, which it ſhould ſeem could be but indifferent to him, can be aſcribed to no other ſource than perſonal hatred to M. de la Sale. To be placed under the orders of a perſon poſſeſſing no rank in the navy, cannot be very agreeable to the commander of a King's veſſel; but if M. de Beaujeu was not diſpoſed to execute a reaſonable ſervice which was exacted from him, why ſhould he have accepted of the command on this condition? M. de la Sale on his part could not comprehend that a commander ſhould be offended, becauſe orders had been iſſued by him which that commander had once undertaken to obey. He therefore

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took no meaſures of conciliation, placed no confidence in M. Beaujeu, and to all the propoſals of that officer made anſwer, that ſuch was not the intention of his ſovereign. It was not by means like theſe that he could intereſt in his enterpriſe a perſon, on whom its ſucceſs greatly depended.

M. de la Sale at length recovered, and after ſome intercourſe with the Governor of St. Domingo and the two commiſſioners, who cheerfully afforded him every aid which he demanded, he had nothing further to detain him; he therefore took his departure on the 25th of November, more embroiled than ever with M. de Beaujeu. On the 12th of December the ſquadron doubled Cape St. Antoine, which is the weſt point of the iſland of Cuba, and entered the Gulph of Mexico; but on the 14th a violent contrary wind obliged it to return to the cape, where it remained until the 18th. On the 28th it came in view of the land of Florida, and from what had been told De la Sale, that in the Gulph of Mexico the current tended towards the eaſt, he doubted not that the mouth of the Miſſiſippi could not be far to the weſtward; an error which was the ſource of all his misfortunes.

He therefore turned to the weſt, but advanced little, becauſe from time to time he approached the land, and ſteered within view of the coaſt in ſearch

ſearch of the object of his expedition. On the 10th of January 1685 the ſquadron was, as was afterwards found, not far from the Miſſiſippi, but paſſed it without the boat having been ſent in to explore. Some days afterwards, from information which was given by the ſavages, M. de la Sale wiſhed to return to the ſame place, but Beaujeu refuſed to comply, although obliged thereto by virtue of his inſtruction. They both became ſtill more diſſatisfied with each other; and M. de la Sale, after having obſtinately perſiſted in exacting obedience in matters of much inferior conſequence, unfortunately yielded, when he ought principally to have availed himſelf of the authority with which he was inveſted.

They purſued, therefore, the ſame courſe to the weſtward, and the ſquadron in a few days arrived in the bay of St. Bernard, but without a knowledge of their actual ſituation. This bay is one hundred and twenty leagues to the ſouth-weſt of the Miſſiſippi. They there came to anchor, and the boats were ſent out on diſcovery. They arrived at a fine river, at whoſe entrance there was a bar which had only twelve feet of water. After ſeveral excurſions in order to aſcertain their ſituation, and many conſultations where nothing was concluded, becauſe it was ſufficient for one of the commanders to explain

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his propoſals, to have them oppoſed by the other; M. de la Sale, who conceived that he could not be far from the object of his ſearch, and in attempting which the preſence of M. de Beaujeu could only ſerve to impede him, reſolved to diſembark all his people at this place.

Having taken this reſolution, on the 20th of February he ſent an order to the commandant of the pink, to unload his veſſel of every heavy article, and to enter into the river. He at the ſame time enjoined the commander of the *Belle* to embark in the pink, becauſe he had not ſufficient confidence in the perſon by whom ſhe was then navigated; but her commander refuſed to receive the captain of the *Belle*. On this refuſal M. de la Sale would have embarked himſelf; but a lieutenant of infantry and five or ſix other Frenchmen, having been carried off by the ſavages whilſt they were walking in the woods, he haſtened to diſengage them.

He had not proceeded far from the ſea ſhore, when caſting his eyes towards that direction he perceived his pink manœuvering, as if ſhe was upon the breakers; and his adverſe fortune prevented him from returning to endeavour to remedy this untoward event. He continued his rout towards the village whither his people had been conducted, and on his arrival there heard the diſcharge of a cannon. From this he preſaged

ſaged that his pink was on ſhore, and his conjecture was but too true. It was believed by many who were witneſſes of this accident, that it was the effect of a premeditated deſign on the part of the Sieur Aigrou, who commanded the veſſel.

Great as this loſs doubtleſs appeared, the unhappy conſequences reſulting from it were yet more truly diſtreſſing. The proviſions, utenſils, tools, and, in general, all that is neceſſary for a new eſtabliſhment, were contained in the pink. M. de la Sale, in whom the anxiety to recover his people had ſuperſeded the care of preventing a misfortune which he dreaded, haſtened, on the accompliſhment of his firſt intent, to the ſpot where the veſſel was wrecked, and found every perſon in a ſtate of inaction. He intreated Beaujeu to lend him his chaloup and boat: he began by conveying the people on ſhore, and afterwards the various ſtores. If the boat of the pink could have acted with that of the frigate, the whole cargo of the veſſel might have been ſaved. But this had likewiſe been wrecked, and night having approached, it was neceſſary to wait until the following day to complete the diſcharge. The wind and waves having increaſed, the veſſel was driven againſt rocks, by which ſhe was broken, and a quantity of articles was thrown out at the openings, and floated to and fro on

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the waves. Several caſks of wine, ſpirits, flour, and ſalt proviſions were ſaved, but every thing beſides was loſt. The perplexity of their ſituation was increaſed by numbers of the ſavages who ſurrounded them, and notwithſtanding every precaution which was uſed to prevent them from taking advantage of the general embarraſſment, many things that had been ſaved from the wreck were carried off. This circumſtance was not diſcovered until after the barbarians had eſcaped with their booty. Several canoes that had been left on the ſhore were taken poſſeſſion of, in conſequence of this act of theft: a feeble repriſal, for which they ſoon after paid very dear. The ſavages returned to bring away their canoes, came in the night to thoſe who had poſſeſſion of them, whom they found aſleep, killed two volunteers whom La Sale much regretted, and wounded two more, but were unable to regain their canoes.

Such a ſeries of unhappy events occurring at the ſame time, diſcouraged many who were engaged in this expedition, and among others M. Dainmaville and the Sieur Minet, engineer, who expreſſed a deſire to return to France. To this dereliction of the ſervice on which they were engaged, the enemies of M. de la Sale contributed in no ſmall degree. They ceaſed not to throw diſcredit on his conduct, and to brand his enterpriſe

priſe with epithets of folly and raſhneſs. He however continued to evince the greateſt reſolution and firmneſs. He cauſed a magazine to be conſtructed, ſurrounded it with intrenchments, and there depoſited every thing that had been ſaved. Perſuaded that the river he had entered might be one of the branches of the Miſſiſippi, he made diſpoſitions for exploring it. He at the ſame time learnt that M. de Beaujeu was preparing to return to France, and entreated him to leave behind him the cannon and ammunition which he had embarked expreſsly for the ſervice of M. de la Sale. Beaujeu replied, that they were in the hold of his veſſel, and that in order to procure them every thing muſt be removed: that this operation would require more time than could be ſpared, in order to avoid the tempeſts uſual at this ſeaſon in thoſe latitudes, and that he believed M. de la Sale was more reaſonable than to wiſh that he ſhould expoſe the frigate to the hazard of being loſt. He however well knew that La Sale had on ſhore only eight ſmall field-pieces, and not a ſingle ſhot. It could not, beſides, be conceived how he could have ſo embarraſſed ſtores, which were deſtined for a new ſettlement.

Another proof of the unjuſtifiable conduct of this officer became evident. The perfidy of the commander of the pink was openly declared, and

to

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to ſkreen him from the juſtice of M. de la Sale, he was received into the frigate, with the whole crew of his veſſel, and this, contrary to an expreſs promiſe he had given to embark no perſon whatever without the full conſent of M. de la Sale. The only reſource which remained to the latter, was to make a repreſentation to the miniſter, a ſatisfaction which could in no degree remedy the diſtreſſing condition to which he was reduced.

The frigate ſailed about the middle of March, and the people on ſhore at the ſame time began to conſtruct a fort. When the work was ſomewhat advanced, La Sale gave Joutel the charge of completing it, entruſted him with the command, and left with him a hundred and twenty men. La Sale with fifty men, who compoſed the remainder of his party, embarked on the river with a reſolution to aſcend as far as poſſible.

The ſavages came at night to ramble around the fort, and Joutel, who was ordered not to allow them to approach too near, cauſed ſome muſkets to be diſcharged, in order to keep them at a diſtance. De la Sale, who heard the report, returned with ſix or ſeven men, and found every thing in quietneſs. He departed ſoon after to rejoin his party, and the firſt thing which he learnt on his arrival at his encampment was, that

ſeveral

ſeveral of his workmen had ſuffered their tools to be ſtolen by the ſavages. As it was his intention to conſtruct a ſecond fort, he gave out other tools, but unhappily his workmen were not ſufficiently acquainted with their uſe.

About the beginning of June an order was ſent to the firſt fort, addreſſed to the commandant, to ſend an officer named Moranget to conduct to La Sale all the men which it contained, except thirty, who were left to Joutel and the Sieur le Gros, who had charge of the ſtores, as a guard. The chace and fiſhing afforded them abundant ſupplies, and the commandant maintained, with a dignified mildneſs, good order and quietude. This however did not prevent a conſpiracy from being formed by two perſons, whoſe diſpoſitions inclined them to malevolence.

The intention was to put to death the commandant and the ſtorekeeper, to rob the ſtore of every thing valuable, and to make their eſcape. The day for the execution of this project was fixed; but one of the conſpirators having imparted the circumſtance to a third perſon, Joutel, who was immediately informed of it, had the criminals ſeized and put in irons. On the 14th of July he received a ſecond order from La Sale to join him together with all his people, which he delayed not to obey, and delivered to him the

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the two priſoners, with the proofs of their conſpiracy.

Theſe circumſtances, which convinced La Sale of the bad choice that he had made of his coloniſts, gave him much inquietude. Joutel was ſurpriſed to find the fort in a ſtate ſo little advanced. No building was yet covered, but a ſmall magazine of ſtone, in which the gunpowder and liquors were depoſited. They had planted and ſown, but all had failed from the want of rain. They had ſubſiſted on the animals killed in the chace. Many good ſubjects were dead. The number of invalids increaſed every day, and nothing could be more melancholy than the ſituation of La Sale. He was mortified by diſappointment and adverſe fortune, but the fortitude of his mind enabled him well to diſſemble the uneaſy ſenſations by which it was agitated. With a firmneſs, which was the leading principle of his character, but which often degenerated into obſtinacy, he poſſeſſed to a ſupreme degree a talent for reſource, and his induſtry made him find within himſelf whatever was deficient in others. As ſoon as all his people were aſſembled into one place, he proceeded with activity in his fortification. He became himſelf the architect, and as he aſſiſted by manual operation, each laboured to the utmoſt of his power.

Nothing

Nothing more was wanted to encourage this favourable inclination; but La Sale could not command his ill temper. At a period when his people were exhauſted with fatigue, and when he had ſcarcely a ſufficiency of proviſions to afford them, he had not power enough over his own mind to enable him to relax in ſome degree from his uſual ſeverity, nor from that inflexibility of ſpirit which is extremely unpropitious to the advancement of a new ſettlement. He puniſhed with a ſpecies of cruelty the ſmalleſt faults, and ſcarcely did he let eſcape an expreſſion of mildneſs, or conſolation, for thoſe who ſuffered with the moſt exemplary patience. Soon therefore had he the mortification to ſee all his people fall into a ſtate of languor, which proceeded more from deſpair, and exceſs of fatigue, than from the want of nouriſhment, and which cut off a conſiderable part of his followers.

A circumſtance which contributed to the perplexity of his ſituation was, that by the imprudence of ſome Frenchmen, the natives of the country called Clamcoëts declared themſelves againſt them, and their favour could never be regained. M. la Sale, however, at length finiſhed his fort, and gave it the name of St. Louis. As he could not diveſt himſelf of the idea, that the Miſſiſippi diſcharged itſelf into the bay where he had firſt landed, and which he alſo called the bay

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of St. Louis; he reſolved to coaſt it in his ſmall veſſel. He embarked in the month of October, leaving in his fort thirty-four perſons, under the command of Joutel, whom he enjoined not to receive back any of the party that went out with him, unleſs a written order, ſigned by himſelf, ſhould be delivered into his hand. He had loſt, a ſhort time before, the Sieur le Gros, who having been bit by a rattle-ſnake, and being ignorant of the remedy for this bite, which is found every where in the woods, was neceſſitated to undergo the amputation of his leg, and died ſhortly after the operation. This ſtorekeeper was well acquainted with buſineſs, and was in many reſpects of great utility. He was one of thoſe, for whoſe loſs La Sale experienced the moſt lively regret.

After the departure of the veſſel three months elapſed before any tidings of her were received at fort St. Louis. At length, towards the middle of January 1686, melancholy accounts of her were brought by a perſon named Duhaut, whoſe brother had remained in the fort. The elder who had followed La Sale, arrived without bringing any letter from him. He was alone in a canoe, and he was heard by the ſentinel, towards the evening, calling out to his brother. The commandant was informed of it, and came to ſpeak to Duhaut, and after being told that La Sale was in perfect health, he inquired if he had a writ-

a written permiſſion to return into the fort. Duhaut replied that he had not, but he related with ſuch an appearance of ſincerity the cauſe of his return, that Joutel conceived he might in this inſtance diſpenſe with the written order, and permitted him to enter the fort.

He made the following recital of his adventures. M. de la Sale, ſaid he, having arrived within ſight of the veſſel, ſent on board of her five of his beſt men, and enjoined them to give his directions to the pilot to ſound the anchoring ground, in a canoe. The pilot obeyed, and employed a whole day in this ſervice. In the evening, finding himſelf fatigued, he went aſhore with thoſe who had brought the order, and there they kindled a fire. Sleep at length ſtole upon them before they had ſettled any precaution againſt the ſavages, who, aſcertaining from the fire the ſpot where the French were, approached during the night, maſſacred the ſix men who were in profound ſleep, and broke in pieces their canoe.

La Sale finding that they returned not at the appointed time, went himſelf in ſearch of them, and found the ſad remains of their carcaſſes, which the wolves or other beaſts of prey had almoſt entirely devoured. He lamented above all the loſs of his pilot, the perſon of whoſe aid he ſtood moſt in need, and a circumſtance ſoon after

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after took place, which cauſed this privation to be yet more ſeverely felt. He made the veſſel to advance higher up in the bay, ſent on board all things neceſſary for the enterpriſe which he meditated, and gave orders that the veſſel ſhould not go out of ſight of the coaſt, and that none of the crew ſhould come on ſhore.

He embarked with twenty men in two canoes to traverſe the bay; when he arrived on the oppoſite ſide, he ſunk his two canoes in the water, and continued his courſe by land. After ſeveral days' journey he found himſelf on the borders of a fine river, which he named La Maligne: in proceeding further, Duhaut having ſtopped behind the others, loſt himſelf in the woods, and afterwards arrived, by what means he could not tell, oppoſite to fort St. Louis. As there was nothing in this recital which had not an air of veriſimilitude, Joutel could not reſiſt giving credit to it, and contented himſelf with preſerving a ſtrict obſervation over the actions of Duhaut.

Towards the middle of March De la Sale arrived, with Cavalier his brother, Maranget his nephew, and five or ſix men, in very diſtreſſing circumſtances, at fort St. Louis. Others of his party had been ſent in ſearch of the veſſel, concerning whoſe fate he was anxious. Although La Sale had failed with reſpect to the object of his

his purſuit, he appeared however ſatisfied with his journey, aſſerting that he had travelled over a very fine country. This afforded him no advancement towards the accompliſhment of his purpoſe, but he comprehended the neceſſity of not diſcouraging his people, and he was a great maſter in the art of concealing diſappointment. The ſight of Duhaut, who he thought had deſerted, afforded him ſome uneaſineſs, and he aſked of Joutel why he had received him, contrary to his orders. Upon being told the reaſon he appeared ſatisfied.

Next day, the party who had been ſent in ſearch of the veſſel returned to the fort, but brought no intelligence of her. By this he was thrown into great perplexity, becauſe he had left on board his linen, his clothes, papers, and moſt valuable effects. Beſides, his deſign was to have uſed this veſſel in aſcending ſome of the rivers which he had diſcovered, to ſend her to the iſlands in ſearch of ſupplies, and likewiſe to range in her along the whole coaſt of the Gulph of Mexico, until he ſhould find the Miſſiſippi, after he ſhould have loſt every hope of entering it by ſome of the rivers which diſcharged themſelves into the bay.

He nevertheleſs took his meaſures with his uſual confidence and hope, and, towards the end of April, he ſet out on a new journey. Some

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days after his departure, M. de Chefdeville, the Marquis de la Sablonniere, and ſome others of thoſe who had remained on board the Belle, arrived at St. Louis in a canoe, with the clothes, a part of the papers, and linen of La Sale, and alſo ſome proviſions, and with accounts of the total loſs of the veſſel. They recounted the circumſtances of this unfortunate event, which deprived M. de la Sale of his principal reliance, after ſuch a repetition of diſaſters. Their relation of this accident was as follows: The crew being in want of freſh water, the Sieur Planteroſe went himſelf to procure a ſupply in one of the neareſt rivers. As he was returning on board with the people who had accompanied him, contrary winds and the obſcurity of night overtook them. They who were in the veſſel, and had ſeen the efforts that were made to return, lighted a fire to ſerve them as a guide; but neither the boat nor any of thoſe who were in her ever afterwards appeared. For ſome days they awaited with fruitleſs expectation their arrival on board the veſſel. At length the crew, preſſed by extreme thirſt, wiſhed to approach a habitation on the coaſt, which was about two leagues diſtant from the river, but the feeble ſtate to which they were reduced, and, it may perhaps be added, their want of ſkill, prevented them from working the veſſel with effect; the wind alſo becoming unfavourable,

favourable, ſhe was thrown aſhore on the oppoſite ſide of the bay, and was there wrecked. BOOK IX.

Theſe unfortunate men, thus caſt away on a ſavage coaſt, and having no longer any boat, could find no other means to extricate themſelves but by conſtructing a raft in order to croſs the bay; but it was ſo badly fabricated, that the firſt who ventured upon it were drowned. The remainder of the crew built a ſecond raft, which was of more ſolid form; they placed upon it all the goods which they could ſave from the veſſel, and ſafely accompliſhed their object. They remained for ſome time upon the ſhore, in great embarraſſment, becauſe they dared not, on account of the ſavages, hazard the performance of the remaining part of the journey by land, and their raft was incapable of being conducted up the river. At length they found an old canoe, which they repaired, and in which they arrived at St. Louis.

Two months had paſſed without any accounts having been brought of M. de la Sale. This long abſence was not the ſole cauſe of the inquietude of the commandant. He perceived with the moſt painful ſenſations his colony diminiſhing every day. Maladies cut off the moſt worthy of his people, the ſavages maſſacred thoſe who ventured abroad on the chace; ſome deſerted, were not aſhamed to take refuge among theſe

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barbarians, and to adopt their mode of life. Many began to murmur with diſcontent, and from murmuring proceeded to the moſt odious conſpiracies. The elder Duhaut placed himſelf at the head of the malcontents, and Joutel was informed that he aimed at nothing leſs than becoming chief of the ſociety.

It however appeared that this unhappy perſon had not yet formed the deteſtable purpoſe, which he afterwards executed. It is only by a gradual progreſs, that the human mind attains the higheſt pitch of iniquity, and the motives by which Duhaut was actuated had not yet acquired a ſufficient degree of force to urge him to the commiſſion of parricide. Certain it is, that from the menaces of the commandant he remained quiet until the return of La Sale, who, in the month of Auguſt regained fort St. Louis. He there received the accounts of the loſs of his veſſel, with a tranquillity of mind which was ſtill more to be admired, becauſe he had on his journey himſelf ſuſtained many loſſes which there were no means of replacing.

He had penetrated into the country of the Cenis, with whom he formed an alliance, and he extolled the beauty and exuberance of the lands he had traverſed. But he had acquired no further knowledge of what he had in view, and the whole profit of his voyage extended only to five horſes

horſes loaded with ſome proviſions, with which his new allies had preſented him. Of twenty men who had accompanied him only eight returned. He inquired on his arrival if the young Duhaut and four others had returned, in conſequence of permiſſion which he had given them, but found that none of them had appeared. Another perſon had gone aſtray on the road and was loſt. One of his ſervants had been devoured by a crocodile, and the others had deſerted him whilſt he was among the Cenis.

Such a ſeries of loſſes made painful impreſſions on all who remained at St. Louis. M. de la Sale propoſed another expedition, but as the heats were then exceſſive, he thought fit to defer it until the month of October. The neighbouring ſavages inceſſantly harraſſed him, and killed two of his men almoſt before his eyes. This confirmed him in a reſolution he had already formed of removing from theſe barbarians. His deſign was to endeavour to reach the Ilinois, and from thence to ſend M. Cavalier to France. He was upon the point of preparing for his journey, when he was ſeized with a violent malady which obliged him to put off his departure. Joutel, ſeeing him in this ſituation, made an offer to perform the voyage, with five men, which was not accepted. Towards the end of December he had recovered from his illneſs, and made diſ-

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poſitions for his route. He was pleaſed that Joutel ſhould accompany him, and he gave the command of the fort to a perſon named Le Barbier. He had ſtrengthened this ſettlement ſince his return from the Cenis, and he flattered himſelf that it was now in condition to defy the inſults of the ſavages. He left a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for the people who remained in it, who amounted to twenty perſons, among whom were ſeven females, two recollets, M. de Chefdeville, the Marquis de la Sablonniere, and a ſurgeon.

After having communicated his laſt inſtructions, he began his journey on the 12th of January 1687, with ſixteen men, comprehending M. Cavelier, Moranget, the young Cavelier, Father Anaſtaſe, Joutel, Duhaut, Larchevêque, De Marle, a German of Wirtemberg named Hiens, a ſurgeon named Liotot, the pilot Taſſier, the young Talon, the ſervant of La Sale whoſe name was Saget, and a ſavage, an excellent huntſman. To eaſe the travellers, M. de la Sale had loaded with the greater part of the baggage and proviſions the five horſes he had brought from Cenis.

Although they held their courſe through a very fine country, they ſuffered much inconvenience from the rains which had ſwelled almoſt all the rivers. Savages were often ſeen, but M. de

de la Sale conciliated the whole of them by his addreſs; he always however continued on his guard, and encamped with great precautions. The difficulty of croſſing the rivers increaſed, on account of their magnitude, and their not being fordable. Neceſſity ſuggeſted to him the conſtruction of a canoe to be carried on poles, which he found of great utility. In proportion as they advanced into the country they found it more populous, and when they were not farther diſtant from the Cenis than forty leagues, they learnt that one of their countrymen was in the neighbourhood. On the 17th of May, Moranget being upon a hunting party, and having had a quarrel with Duhaut, Hiens, and the ſurgeon Liotot, theſe three men formed a plan of murdering him, the ſervant of M. de la Sale, and the ſavage huntſman named Nica, who accompanied Moranget, and probably would have riſked their lives in his defence. BOOK IX.

They communicated their deſign to Larchevêque, and to the pilot Teſſier, who approved of it, and were inclined to take a part in its execution. They mentioned not their intention to the Sieur de Marle, who was with them, and whom they wiſhed not to be preſent. On the following night, while the three unhappy victims of their vengeance ſlept in tranquillity, Liotot ſtruck them on the head with repeated blows of a

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hatchet. The ſavage and the ſervant immediately expired. Moranget raiſed himſelf, but without being able to utter a word, and the aſſaſſins conſtrained the Sieur de Marle to complete his death, by menacing him, that if he refuſed he ſhould ſhare a ſimilar fate. Their intention was to render him an accomplice in their horrid crime, to be aſſured that he would not accuſe them.

As however it ſeldom occurs, that a firſt tranſgreſſion is not followed by thoſe galling inquietudes, which even they who have gained the pinnacle of iniquity find it difficult to tranquillize, the murderers comprehended, that it would be no eaſy taſk to evade the puniſhment which M. de la Sale, on the event of a diſcovery, would not fail to inflict. They therefore reſolved on the means of defeating it. After having deliberated together on the probable plans of ſucceeding, they conceived that the moſt effectual would be to prevent him, by deſtroying all thoſe who might oppoſe their deſign, and to open the way to the parricide which they meditated.

A reſolution ſo extraordinary could only have been dictated by that blind deſpair, which conducts criminals with celerity to the abyſs which they themſelves have dug: but an accident which they could not foreſee delivered into their hands the prey of which they were in ſearch. A river which

which ſeparated them from the camp, and which had conſiderably ſwelled ſince they had paſſed it, detained them for two days. This delay, which at that time appeared to them an obſtacle to the execution of their project, tended to facilitate its ſucceſs. M. de la Sale not finding his nephew nor the two men who accompanied him return, went himſelf in queſt of them. It was remarked that at the moment he was ſetting out he appeared to diſcover ſymptoms of uneaſineſs, and enquired with an emotion which he had never before betrayed, if Moranget had not had a quarrel with ſome perſon.

He then called Joutel, entruſted him with the command of the camp, recommended to him to walk around it from time to time, to permit no perſon to leave it, and to alight fires that the ſmoke might ſerve to bring him into his way, ſhould he wander on his return. He departed on the 20th, taking with him father Anaſtaſe and a ſavage. As he approached the place where the aſſaſſins had ſtopped, he perceived eagles ſoaring near it, and concluded from thence that ſome dead carcaſes lay in the vicinity. He immediately fired his fuſil, and the conſpirators, who had not yet perceived him, doubted whether it might be he who approached, and ſtood to their arms.

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The river intervened between him and them. Duhaut and Larchevêque paſſed it, and having diſcovered M. de la Sale ſlowly coming up, they made a halt. Duhaut concealed himſelf in the long graſs, having his fuſil charged and cocked; Larchevêque advanced a little further, and M. de la Sale ſaid with anxiety, "Where is my nephew Moranget?" He was anſwered, that he had ſtrayed, and they had loſt him. At the ſame inſtant Duhaut diſcharged his piece, and M. de la Sale receiving the contents in his head, fell lifeleſs to the ground.

Such was the tragical death of Robert Cavalier Sieur de la Sale, a man of uncommon genius, of an enlarged mind, of an undaunted intrepidity of ſpirit, which might have conducted him to high diſtinction, had he, with ſo many enviable qualities, poſſeſſed the power of commanding his irritable and ſaturnine temper, of ſetting bounds to his ſeverity, or rather to the harſhneſs of his diſpoſition, and of repreſſing the haughtineſs with which he treated not only thoſe who were entirely dependent on him, but likewiſe his aſſociates, who had advanced conſiderable ſums towards the equipment of his enterpriſe.

He was reproached, with ſome degree of juſtice, for never having taken the advice of any perſon,

perſon, and for more than once having ruined his own affairs by an inflexible obſtinacy which nothing could either conquer or juſtify.

By rejecting all advice from others, he ſometimes, doubtleſs, loſt opportunities of ſucceſs, as the greateſt men are often indebted for the favourable attainment of their objects, to perſons of inferior merit; and the moſt fortunate are generally they who can profit by hints from others, perhaps far unequal to themſelves in capacity and acquirements.

In the mean time father Anaſtaſe having ſeen M. de la Sale fall at his feet, expected that the murderers would not ſhew him any mercy, and would immediately cut him off to prevent his becoming an evidence againſt them. But Duhaut approaching him, gave him aſſurance of ſafety, telling him that the deed which he had committed was prompted by the influence of deſpair, and that for a long time he had meditated revenge againſt Moranget, who once wiſhed to ruin him. His accomplices interrupted his converſation with the recollet, in an inſtant deſpoiled the dead body of La Sale, taking even the ſhirt, and, after having inſulted it in a manner the moſt indignant, they dragged it into the bruſhwood, where it was left without the honours of ſepulture. The aſſaſſins, after having thus completed their parricide, took their way to the camp, where they

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they had already ſent the produce of their chace by ſavages who were witneſſes to what paſſed, and could not refrain from teſtifying marks of abhorrence at the ſcene of ſlaughter.

M. Cavelier having learnt the fate of his unhappy brother, immediately told the conſpirators, that if their deſign was to deſtroy him alſo, he would pardon them in advance, and the only favour he required was, to be allowed a quarter of an hour in order to diſpoſe himſelf for death. They replied that he had nothing to fear, and that no perſon had taken offence at his conduct. Joutel was not then at the camp: Larchevêque, who was his friend, went in ſearch of him, to acquaint him that his death was reſolved on if he ſhould ſhew any reſentment at what had taken place, or if he pretended to reſume the authority which M. de la Sale had given him; but, if he remained quiet, he might be aſſured of his life.

Joutel, who was naturally of a mild diſpoſition, replied, that they ſhould be ſatisfied with his conduct; he alſo believed that he had given no cauſe of offence whilſt he held the command, and that he ſhould now be happy to poſſeſs in it no ſhare whatever. They then returned to the camp, and ſo ſoon as Duhaut perceived Joutel, he called out to him, that every one muſt command in his turn. He had already ſeized on authority, and the firſt uſe he made of it was to

take poſſeſſion of every thing in the ſtore: he then divided the contents with Larchevêque, aſſerting that they belonged to them. The parricides were in poſſeſſion of ſtrength, and their courage, by the practice of crimes, was hardened into unfeeling ferocity. They met with no oppoſition to their will.

Next day, the 20th of May, all the French, accompanied by ſome ſavages, began their march to proceed to the village of the Cenis, which was not far diſtant; but the weather being unfavourable, and the road difficult, they were ſoon obliged to encamp. On the 29th Joutel was detached with the ſurgeon Liotot, Hiens, and Teſſier, to endeavour to procure ſome proviſions from the Cenis. They diſcovered on the firſt day three ſavages well mounted, one of whom was habited like a Spaniard, and approached to meet them. He was then taken for a real Spaniard, eſpecially as they had heard that people of that nation were coming to join the Cenis, againſt another nation with whom they were at war. As they were apprehenſive of falling into the hands of the Caſtilians, who are not well inclined that other Europeans ſhould come into their neighbourhood, their firſt intention was to kill him, and afterwards to make their eſcape.

Whilſt the party was thus deliberating concerning what meaſure they ſhould adopt, Joutel, who

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who had already joined him, addreſſed him in Spaniſh and Italian. The ſavage replied in the language of the Cenis, that he did not underſtand what was ſpoken, and this anſwer perfectly ſatisfied them. The two other ſavages were entirely naked; one had a handſome grey horſe, which carried two baſkets made of cane, full of flour and roaſted Indian corn. He preſented ſome to the French, and added that his maſter expected them with impatience. Joutel enquired if any Spaniards were amongſt their countrymen, and was anſwered that none had come there, but that ſeveral of that people were amongſt a neighbouring nation.

The ſavage who was in the Spaniſh dreſs added, that he had been in their country, and that he was returning from thence, equipped as they beheld him. He drew from his pocket a printed paper in the Caſtilian language, containing a liſt of indulgences granted by the Pope to the miſſionaries of New Mexico; after which he and his two companions purſued their route towards the village; they ſoon however altered their intention, and came back. The French preſented them with food: night coming on after the repaſt, the Frenchmen wiſhed not to proceed farther, and one of the three ſavages remained with them. The other two reſumed the road to their village.

The

The Frenchmen and their gueſt arrived there the next day, and immediately proceeded to the cabin of the chief; but ſcarcely had they appeared at the entrance of the village, when they perceived the Ancients, who were advancing with ceremony. Each had upon his ſhoulder a bandoléu of dreſſed deer ſkin, painted with different colours, and on the head a plume of feathers made in the form of a coronet. Some carried naked ſwords, like thoſe which are in uſe among the Spaniards, and their hilts were adorned with feathers and hawks' bills: others were armed with bows, arrows, and clubs. Part of their number had large pieces of white cloth which paſſed from one ſhoulder to the other, and hung down below their middle; every one had his face painted with red and black.

The Ancients amounted to twelve, and paſſed between a double line of young men and warriors, ranged in good order. When they were ſufficiently near to the French, their leader made them halt, and immediately each raiſed his right hand above his head, ſending forth at the ſame time loud cries: they afterwards ran to embrace the French, and laviſhed on them, according to their manner, every demonſtration of kindneſs, preſenting them alſo pipes and tobacco: at length they led forth a Frenchman of Provence, one of thoſe who had deſerted M. de la Sale on his firſt

voyage

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voyage thither. He was naked like the ſavages, and appeared rejoiced again to ſee his countrymen.

They were conducted by the train already mentioned to the cabin of the chief, where they were well received. From thence they were led to another cabin of larger dimenſions, about a quarter of a league diſtant from the firſt, and which was ſet apart for public feſtivity. They found the floor covered with mats, on which they were deſired to ſeat themſelves. The Ancients arranged themſelves around them, and brought them ſagamieté, or boiled Indian meal, and vegetables of various kinds. During the repaſt, and afterwards, whilſt each ſmoked his pipe, they were entertained by ſome warlike exhibitions.

The Provençal dwelt in another village, to which he conducted the French, who were there received nearly in the ſame manner. Darkneſs approaching, their conductor led them to his cabin, where they paſſed the night. Next morning the Ancients of the firſt village came to lead them back to the cabin where they had been regaled the preceding evening, and exchanged proviſions for their merchandiſe; but as ſufficient grain was not found in the village to ſupply the wants of the French, Joutel ſent back his companions, together with the Provençal, to the camp,

camp, and remained among the Cenis to complete his quantity of proviſions.

Another motive beſides engaged him to remain longer amongſt theſe people. He learnt that there were two other Frenchmen, deſerters from M. de la Sale, in a neighbouring nation, and he hoped to draw from them more information than he had acquired from the Provençal reſpecting the Miſſiſippi and its courſe, which it was neceſſary he ſhould take to reach the Ilinois. He therefore cauſed ſearch to be made for theſe two men, and one night, when he was at reſt in his cabin, but had not fallen quite aſleep, he heard a perſon approach gently to his bed ſide; he looked at him, and by the light of the fire perceived a man quite naked, holding in his hand two arrows and a bow, who without ſpeaking ſeated himſelf on the bed.

Having viewed him for a time, he aſked him ſome queſtions, to which he received no anſwer. This ſilence made him reflect ſeriouſly, and lay hold of his two piſtols. On this the man raiſed himſelf, and ſeated himſelf near the fire. Joutel followed him, regarding him with fixed attention, and preſently the pretended ſavage threw his arms around his neck, ſpoke to him in the French language, and made himſelf known as one of the deſerters of whom he was in queſt.

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On being aſked where his companion was, he made anſwer that he was afraid to come.

They had in a little time ſo well adopted the manners of the ſavages, that they could never have been taken for Europeans: not only were they naked, but they had their whole body painted and tatooed. They were married to ſeveral wives. The Cenis had led them forth to war, and whilſt their ammunition laſted the effect of their fuſils was admired; but when it failed, they were obliged to uſe the bow and arrow. They led a life of libertiniſm, in which they found great attractions, and ſcarcely any tincture of religion remained to them. Joutel informed his countryman of the death of M. de la Sale, and of his nephew Moranget, at which he appeared extremely affected. He then aſked him if he ever had heard mention made of the Miſſiſippi, and was anſwered, that he had only heard that at forty leagues to the north-eaſt there was a large river, whoſe banks were very populous, and where there were men of the appearance and dreſs of Europeans. Joutel doubted not that this was the river of which he was in ſearch, and as he was reſolved to ſeparate, as ſoon as he could, from the murderers of M. de la Sale, it became a principal object of his attention to aſſure himſelf of the road which he muſt take to gain that great river. In the morning the deſerter

deſerter returned to his village, after Joutel had made him ſome trifling preſents to beſtow on his wives, and had requeſted him to perſuade his companion to pay him a viſit.

On the 6th of April they both arrived at the cabin of Joutel, equipped in the ſame manner, which appeared ſufficiently whimſical; and conſiſted in wearing their hair very ſhort, except a toupet, which the barbarians allow to remain on the ſummit of the head, and ſometimes on the ſides.

The other, named Grollet, confirmed what his companion had aſſerted on the ſubject of the great river towards the north-eaſt, on the borders of which Europeans had been ſeen, and they both made offer to accompany Joutel to the camp. He was pleaſed with this reſolution, and on the 8th, the two Frenchmen having returned to Cenis with a horſe, to tranſport the proviſions which Joutel had purchaſed, they departed, and on the 10th arrived at their place of deſtination.

During the abſence of Joutel, the murderers of M. de la Sale had formed themſelves into a ſeparate band, and had embraced the deſign of returning to Fort St. Louis, there to conſtruct a barque, and to attempt to reach the Weſt-India iſlands. They were in want of the greateſt part of the utenſils neceſſary for this purpoſe, and

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none amongſt them had ever been accuſtomed to their uſe. But this was the firſt operation of that privation of reflection, which never fails to overtake thoſe who have perpetrated crimes abhorrent to humanity. M. Cavelier having learnt that Duhaut and his accomplices intended to buy horſes from the Cenis, to tranſport their baggage to St. Louis, went to acquaint him, that he and many others whom he named were too much fatigued to undertake the journey which was meditated: that their deſign was to remain for a certain time in the firſt village of the Cenis, and he begged him to allow them ſome hatchets and ammunition, with other articles to enable them to purchaſe proviſions; and if he was inclined, he might ſet a value on them, and he would give him an obligation for the amount. Duhaut deferred until the morning his anſwer; and after having conſulted with his band, acquainted M. Cavelier that he conſented to allow him the half of the ſtores which remained in the magazine. He added, that if he and his party did not ſucceed in conſtructing a barque, they would return. A few days after he changed his reſolution with reſpect to the journey to St. Louis, and propoſed to his companions to rejoin M. Cavelier, in order to proceed to the Ilinois. Hiens and ſome others were not of this opinion, and demanded their ſhare of the ſtores. Duhaut made

made ſome difficulties, and they quarrelled: at length Hiens diſcharged his piſtol at Duhaut, who fell dead at the diſtance of four paces from him. At the ſame time one of the deſerters, whom Joutel had brought back from the Cenis, and who was attached to Hiens, fired his fuſil at the ſurgeon Liotot. This miſerable man, although he had three balls in his body, lived for ſome hours, and, after he had made confeſſion and received abſolution, the ſame perſon completed his exit by the diſcharge of a piſtol. Thus two murderers, the one of M. de la Sale, the other of his nephew, became the firſt victims of that ſpirit of fury with which they had inſpired this unhappy colony. BOOK IX.

Joutel, who had witneſſed this maſſacre, ſeized his fuſil to defend himſelf, leſt they ſhould alſo attempt to take away his life; but Hiens called out to him to be under no apprehenſion, and that his only deſign was to avenge the death of his patron. He added, that although he ſhared in the conſpiracy with Duhaut, he by no means had conſented to that act of parricide, and that, had he been preſent, he would have endeavoured to prevent it. The ſavages knew not what to think of theſe ſanguinary proceedings, and regarded them with juſt abhorrence.

Joutel gave them to underſtand that theſe two men who had been killed merited that treat-

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ment which they had received, for having imbrued their hands in the blood of their chief, and for having ſeized by violence effects which did not belong to them. With theſe reaſons they appeared ſatisfied. Larchevêque was not at the camp whilſt this was going forward: he had ſet out on the morning of that day for the chace, and Hiens intended to treat him on his return in the ſame manner as he had done Duhaut; but M. Cavelier and Father Anaſtaſe ſucceeding in diſſuading him from his intention, and Joutel finding means of acquainting Larchevêque of the danger to which he was ſubjected, he conducted him afterwards to Hiens, and they mutually promiſed not to give way to their animoſities.

After this reconciliation, it became neceſſary to conſult anew on the plan which was to be purſued; but Hiens declared that he had given a promiſe to the Cenis to accompany them to war, that he would accompliſh his word, and if they would wait for him at one of the villages, he would afterwards rejoin them. It became for M. Cavelier, and for thoſe who were attached to him, a matter of neceſſity to ſubmit to what this outrageous character propoſed, becauſe a diviſion of the ſtores had not yet taken place. They went therefore to the village of the Cenis, and Hiens departed from thence on a war expedition,

together

together with the ſavages and ſix Frenchmen, all mounted on horſeback.

On the 18th, the French who remained in the village were much ſurpriſed to ſee enter their cabins, early in the morning, women bedaubed all over with earth, who began a circular dance. This laſted for three hours, after which the maſter of the cabin gave to each of the dancers a piece of tobacco. They then informed the French, that the Cenis had gained a complete victory.

The women began to prepare refreſhments to carry out to meet the victorious bands, who, on the evening of the ſame day, arrived at the village. Their enemies, named *Canohatinnos*, had waited for them with firmneſs, but the noiſe and effect of the fire-arms of the French had impreſſed them with ſuch a panic, that they fled on the firſt diſcharge. They were purſued, and forty-eight were killed in the purſuit. The Cenis ſpared no priſoners except two boys, whom they brought to their village, together with the ſcalps of the dead, and two women whoſe lot was ſtill more ſevere than death.

They ſent back one to her country, but not before they had taken the ſcalp from her head: they put into her hands a quantity of powder and lead ſufficient to charge a fuſil, deſiring her to carry this preſent to her nation, and to acquaint

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it, that they ſhould return to viſit it with ſimilar arms. Her companion was delivered to perſons of her own ſex, who being armed with large pointed clubs, led her to a retired place, where there were only women. There each of theſe furies diſcharged at her a blow, ſome with the points of their clubs, others with ſwinging force. They pulled off her hair, cut off her fingers, in a word, they made her ſuffer every operation which they conceived would excite in her the moſt exquiſite ſenſations of pain, to revenge the death of their friends and relations who had been killed in different rencontres. In fine, after they had exhauſted every ſpecies of torment which their vindictive ſpirit could deviſe, they pierced her body with ſeveral wounds, until the remains of life eſcaped from it. It was then cut into pieces, and given to the ſlaves to be devoured.

The following day was ſet apart for feſtivity and rejoicings. After having prepared the cabin of the chief, they ſpread mats on the floor, on which they cauſed the Ancients and the French to ſit. When each had taken his place, an orator ſtood up, and made a long diſcourſe; which particularly turned on the praiſes of the warriors, and on the great ſervices which the new allies had rendered to the nations.

Afterwards

Afterwards appeared a woman, holding in her hand a long reed; the warriors, preceded by their wives, followed each according to his rank, having a bow and arrows in his hand. Their wives carried the ſcalps that had been acquired in the battle, and held them up conſpicuouſly to view. The two young priſoners whom they had adopted cloſed the proceſſion, and as one of them was wounded, they mounted him on a horſe.

As the warriors paſſed the orator, they received the ſcalps from the hands of their wives, and preſented them to him. He placed them between his hands, turned them towards the four quarters of the world, and depoſited them on the ground. This part of the ceremony being finiſhed, large diſhes of ſagamity were ſerved up, and before they were touched by any perſon, the orator took ſome in a large wooden bowl, and preſented as an offering to the ſcalps: he then lighted a pipe of tobacco, and blew the ſmoke of it on the ſame objects, after which the feaſt commenced. Beſides ſagamity, the tongues of their enemies killed in battle were ſerved up. They brought to the two young priſoners the fleſh of the woman whoſe ſufferings have been mentioned, and forced them to eat of it. The whole terminated by ſinging and dancing, and they ſeparated to recommence

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recommence in their reſpective cabins the latter part of the ceremony.

The French having now no longer any cauſe of detention among the Cenis, aſſembled to ſettle their final reſolution. Hiens immediately began to declare, that he approved not of the project of going in ſearch of the Ilinois, in which he foreſaw inſurmountable difficulties; and beſides, he would not return to France to carry thither his head to lay it on a ſcaffold. To this laſt reaſon there could be no reply; but as it was the only motive which in reality determined Hiens to embrace the deſperate plan which he purſued, they who were not culpable perſiſted in the deſign of paſſing to the Ilinois, and on the ſame day began to make ſerious diſpoſitions for their departure.

The ſavages had much exaggerated to Joutel the dangers to which he ſhould expoſe himſelf, in traverſing ſo vaſt an extent of country, where he could not fail to meet with nations yet unknown to Europeans, and from ſome of whom he could not flatter himſelf with the hope of a kind reception. They omitted nothing to engage him and his people to remain among them. He ſolicited them to afford him guides, to whom he promiſed a handſome recompence. Hiens on his part ſupplied him with all that he required; but Joutel

Joutel knew that he muſt not aſk for much. This monſter of villainy remained maſter of almoſt the whole of the effects of M. de la Sale, and already wore one of his coats of ſcarlet and embroidery. But before he would make the ſmalleſt partition of the ſtores, he exacted from M. Cavelier an atteſtation written in Latin, and ſigned with his hand, that he acquitted him of all ſuſpicion of having been concerned in the murder of his brother.

Thoſe who proceeded for the Ilinois were ſeven in number, M. M. Cavelier, uncle, and nephew, Father Anaſtaſe, the Sieurs Joutel and De Marle, a young Pariſian named Barthelemy, and the pilot Teſſier. Larchevêque, Munier and Ruter, the two deſerters, had promiſed to accompany them, but the attractions of libertiniſm detained them among the Cenis, and it was apparent that the ſame dread of puniſhment which had taken poſſeſſion of the mind of Hiens, ſeized alſo that of Larchevêque, ſtill more culpable than the former.

Joutel and his party, after a long and fatiguing march, arrived at the country of the Akauſas, the only unhappy event which had occurred being the loſs of the Sieur le Marle, who was drowned whilſt bathing in a river. Amongſt the Akauſas, whom they reached on the 20th of July, they met with two Frenchmen, one named

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Delaunay, and the other Couture, by trade a carpenter.

It was a circumſtance of unſpeakable joy to the travellers, to find themſelves ſo near to the Miſſiſippi, and in a country where their nation was known. The two Frenchmen had been ſent to the Akauſas by the Chevalier de Tonti, on his return from a voyage, which he himſelf had made to the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, where M. de la Sale had directed him to rendezvous. They there had begun a habitation, and appeared to have formed the reſolution of eſtabliſhing themſelves, no longer hoping to receive any further accounts of M. de la Sale.

M. Cavelier acquainted them with his melancholy death, but deſired them not to make it known, becauſe the name alone of the deceaſed had held theſe ſavages in reſpect, and he wiſhed to procure from them proviſions, canoes, and guides. He then requeſted Couture to go in ſearch of ſome of their chiefs, and to inform them that M. de la Sale had formed a ſettlement in the Gulph of Mexico; that they who had brought thoſe good news, were making a voyage to Canada to bring back merchandiſe; that they would ſhortly return with a number of Frenchmen to ſettle in their country, to defend them againſt their enemies, and to procure all the advantages of a well-regulated commerce; that they

they hoped to receive from them, in order to be enabled to reach the Ilinois, the ſame aids that they had received from all the other nations through whoſe country they had paſſed.

The Akauſas aſſembled to deliberate on theſe propoſals; in the mean time they regaled in the beſt manner in their power their new gueſts, and ſung and danced the calumet. They however found ſome difficulties in allowing guides for ſo long a voyage; but by the incitement of promiſes and preſents, they at length conſented. The young Pariſian, who could not walk, remained with the Akauſas, and Couture accompanied his countrymen for ſome time. They ſet out on the 27th, deſcended the river of the Akauſas, and gained, the ſame day, a village called Torimau, where they ſaw for the firſt time the Miſſiſippi. They traverſed it on the 29th, and gained the village of the Kappas, where Couture took his leave of them. They aſcended the Miſſiſippi in canoes on the 3d of September, entered the river of the Ilinois, and on the 14th arrived at Fort St. Louis, where the Sieur de Bellefontaine commanded in the abſence of the Chevalier Tonti, who had gone to join the Marquis de Denonville in the war againſt the Tſonnonthouans. Every perſon eagerly enquired after M. de la Sale, and it was anſwered that they had parted with him at forty leagues from the Cenis. They did

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did not think it prudent to give a further explanation, becauſe they wiſhed to paſs on to Canada as quickly as poſſible, and they were in want of ſupplies to enable them to perform this voyage, which was become difficult and perilous ſince war had been declared againſt the Iroquois. They were afraid of being denied the neceſſary aſſiſtance, if they had made known the death of de la Sale.

Happily for them the Sieur Boiſrondet, clerk of that unfortunate officer, was preparing to make the ſame voyage, and their meeting afforded much mutual ſatisfaction. They embarked on the 18th, but did not proceed far; the bad weather obliged them to return to the fort from whence they had departed. This misfortune diſconcerted them the more, as it deprived them of all hope of returning to France the ſame year, and of ſending ſupplies to ſuch of their people as had remained at the habitation of St. Louis.

On the 27th of October, M. de Tonti arrived at Fort St. Louis of the Ilinois. M. Cavelier conceived it prudent not to make known to him, more than to the others, the melancholy end of his brother, and as he had taken the precaution to procure from him, a little before his death, a letter of credit to receive at the Ilinois a ſum of money, or the value in furs, Tonti made no difficulty in delivering him a quantity of the latter, amounting

amounting to two hundred pounds ſterling. The travellers left the Ilinois on the 21ſt of March 1688, with Boiſrondet, and Father Allouez, who not finding a favourable opening among the Ilinois for the eſtabliſhment of a miſſion, returned to the river St. Joſeph, where he ſoon after died among the Miamis. BOOK IX.

On the 10th of May they arrived at Michilimakinac, where they reſted but for a ſhort time, and on the 14th of July M. Cavelier reached Montreal, where his people, whom he had left at La Chine, joined him on the 17th. They there met M. M. Denonville and Champigny, whom they gave to underſtand, that they were obliged to paſs over to France with all poſſible expedition, to ſend ſuccours to M. de la Sale. They embarked for Quebec, and had not long to wait for a veſſel; from thence they ſailed, and landed at Rochelle on the 5th of October. 1688.

There is ſome ground for ſuppoſing, that if Cavelier and his party had not been conſtrained to winter at the Ilinois, and had arrived a year earlier in France, meaſures might have been taken to reinforce, or to bring off the little colony which La Sale had formed at St. Louis amongſt the Clamcoëts; but on their arrival at Paris it was conceived too late; and even had it been intended earlier, it would have been vain. The Clamcoëts were not long in being informed

of

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of the death of the French chief, and of the diſperſion of his company; and at a time when the inhabitants of St. Louis leaſt expected it, they fell upon them and maſſacred them, except the three ſons of Talon, their ſiſter, and a young Pariſian called Bremau, whom they carried off to their village. An Italian who had come from Canada acroſs the continent, to join M. de la Sale, and who doubtleſs would have been uſeful to him, in diſcloſing to him the route which he ought to have purſued in order to reach the Miſſiſippi, if he could have arrived in time, ſaved alſo his life by a ſingular ſtratagem. While the ſavages were preparing to put him to death, he told them they were much to blame to deſtroy a perſon who carried their images in his heart. This diſcourſe aſtoniſhed the barbarians, and the Italian aſſured them, that, if they would give him until to-morrow, he would openly demonſtrate the truth of what he advanced. He obtained that delay, and having adjuſted a ſmall mirror on his breaſt, he appeared before the ſavages, who were much ſurpriſed to view themſelves, as they believed, in the heart of this man, and granted him his life.

On the other hand, the Spaniards of New Mexico, whom the enterpriſe of La Sale had much alarmed, were fully reſolved to ſpare no means of ruining it. They ſent five hundred men,

men, who arrived among the Cenis, and there found Larchevêque and Grollet, whom they made priſoners. They afterwards met with Munier and Talon, brother of thoſe who had been ſpared by the Clamcoëts, and brought them to the village of Cenis, where they were well treated. There were among the Spaniards miſſionaries of St. Francis, whom they wiſhed to ſettle among theſe ſavages. They conceived that the two Frenchmen, who underſtood perfectly well the language of the country, might be of great utility to theſe new miſſionaries, and they hoped by kindneſs to engage them to remain with theſe fathers.

Their obliging manners encouraged Talon to make known to them that he had three brothers and a ſiſter, ſlaves among the Clamcoëts, and they forthwith ſent a detachment in ſearch of them. But this detachment could only bring off two of the Talons, their ſiſter, and the Italian, whom the Clamcoëts, who had adopted them, would with the greateſt difficulty releaſe. The following year two hundred and fifty Spaniards returned to the ſame village, brought away the other Talon and Bremau, conducted them to St. Louis de Petoſi, a city of New Mexico, and from thence to Mexico, with the remainder of their countrymen, where they were received into the family of the viceroy.

BOOK IX

Larchevêque and Grollet had been ſent to Spain, from whence they were brought back to Mexico. They were there confined in priſon until an opportunity offered to ſend them to New Mexico, to labour in the mines. The Italian was ſent to Vera Cruz, where he was ſhut up in priſon, from whence, it is probable, he was not removed until he was placed in the mines. It is not known what became of Bremau. Perhaps, on account of his youth, he was joined with the Talons: the probable reaſon why they experienced milder treatment than the others, was, that they were of an age not to enable them to have received any knowledge of the country; whereas their companions had attained their full vigour of mind and body, and if they eſcaped, might give to the French much information relative to what they had witneſſed in their different travels.

At the end of eight years, the three elder Talons being of an age to carry arms, were enrolled on board the Armadilla, and embarked in Le Chriſto, the admiral's ſhip. This veſſel was taken in 1696 by the Chevalier des Augiers, and the three brothers having then recovered their liberty, returned to France. It is from their information that an account of the latter circumſtances herein mentioned was acquired. The viceroy of Mexico, who had detained with him

the younger brother and ſiſter, having been relieved, brought both with him to Spain.

Such was the unfortunate iſſue of an enterpriſe, which a variety of adverſe circumſtances contributed to defeat.

BOOK X.*

Voyage of M. de Iberville for the Diſcovery of the Mouth of the Miſſiſippi by Sea in 1698-9.—*Arrival at St. Domingo,—at Penſacola.—Explores one of the Branches of the Mouth of the Miſſiſippi —Aſcends to the Oumas. —Builds a Fort near the Paſeagoulas, and returns to France.—Arrives again at the Biloxi. Conſtructs a Fort on the Eaſt Side of one of the Branches of the Miſſiſippi. —Aſcends to the Natchez.—Eſtabliſhes the Head Quarters of the Colony at the Biloxi.—The Ilinois.— Various Nations bordering on the Miſſiſippi viſited by La Sale in his former Travels.—Manners and Cuſtoms of the Natchez.—Of the Ilinois after their Converſion to the Chriſtian Faith.*

BOOK X.

OF all the parts of America to which the crown of France laid claim, none occupied for a time the attention of the government of that

* The calumet of peace, frequently mentioned in this book, and in uſe among the nations bordering on the Miſſiſippi, is a large pipe formed from a ſpecies of ſoft marble, of a red, black, or white colour. The ſtalk is from four to five feet in length. The body of the calumet is eight inches in length; the head which contains the pipe is three in height, and one or two in diameter. The red calumets are in moſt general vogue and eſtimation. The ſavages uſe them in their negotiations, for political purpoſes,

that country ſo much as Louiſiana, a name given by M. de la Sale to the new diſcoveries he made on the borders of the Miſſiſippi. Since his unfortunate attempt to explore by ſea the mouth of this river, it appeared that the plan for its proſecution was entirely laid aſide. M. de Iberville, however, on his return from an expedition to Hudſon's Bay, awoke, upon this point, the attention of the miniſter, and inſpired the Count de Pontchartrain with the deſign of conſtructing a fort at the entrance of that great river, of which this officer undertook the diſcovery.

The miniſter, approving his project, cauſed to be fitted out at Rochefort two armed ſhips, *Le François* and *La Renommée*, the command of which he gave to the Marquis de Chateaumorand and to M. de Iberville, both captains of the marine. They ſet ſail on the 7th of October 1698, and anchored at Cape François in Saint Domingo on the 11th of December. From

purpoſes, and eſpecially on their journeys, being able to travel every where in ſafety whilſt carrying this pipe in their hands. It is ornamented with feathers of various colours, and has with them the ſame effect that a flag of truce has among civilized nations. The ſavages would conceive themſelves guilty of the greateſt crime, and that they ſhould even bring misfortunes on their nation, were they to violate the privileges which the preſence of this venerable pipe is allowed to confer.

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thence they proceeded to Leogane, to converſe with M. Duchaſſe, governor of the iſland, reſpecting the object of their deſtination. That officer was already well acquainted with the reputation which M. de Iberville had acquired, and found his genius and deſigns to correſpond with his valour and ſkill in war.

On the laſt day of the year they ſailed from St. Domingo, and on the 7th of January 1699 they perceived the land of Florida. They approached it as near as poſſible, without riſking themſelves on that unknown coaſt, and ſent the Sieur Leſcalette to bring a ſupply of wood and water, and at the ſame time to procure intelligence. This officer, on his return, informed them, that they were oppoſite to a bay called Penſacola, where three hundred Spaniards from Vera Cruz were come a little time before to form a ſettlement; and it was afterwards learnt, that the intention of this eſtabliſhment was to prevent the French from occupying the country.

Leſcallette had entered the harbour, and demanded of the Governor permiſſion to procure wood and water; who, on being informed for whom it was wanted, ſaid he would give an anſwer to the commanders of the ſhips. He accordingly ſent his major on board to compliment M. M. Chateaumorand and de Iberville: this officer at the ſame time put into their hands a letter

letter from the Governor, importing that the two veſſels of the Moſt Chriſtian King might freely ſupply themſelves with wood and water, and take ſhelter, if neceſſary, wherever they might find it convenient: but that his inſtructions expreſsly prohibited him from receiving into the harbour any foreign ſhips; and that, in caſe of bad weather, they might enter into the bay, whither his pilots ſhould conduct them. M. Chateaumorand wrote, in anſwer to this letter, that he deſpaired of finding any other place where the veſſels might be in ſafety, and he was therefore neceſſitated to accept of his offer. M. de Iberville went out in his boat to ſound, and found twenty fathoms of water to be the ſmalleſt depth; but the Governor, on further reflection, deſired them to go in ſearch of another harbour.

On the 31ſt of January M de Iberville, who took the leading courſe to explore the coaſt, anchored to the S. S. Eaſt of the eaſtern point of the Mobile, a large river parallel to the Miſſiſippi, and celebrated for a bloody victory which Don Ferdinand de Soto there gained over the ſavages. On the ſecond of February he landed on an iſland four leagues in circuit, which he named the Iſle of Maſſacre, becauſe he found the bones and ſkulls of ſixty perſons, with a quantity of culinary utenſils in an entire ſtate. From this iſland, to which was afterwards given

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the name of *Ile Dauphine*, he paſſed to the continent, and having diſcovered the river of the Paſcagoulas, where he met with many ſavages, he proceeded with the Sieur Sauvole, De Bienville, a recollet, forty-eight men, and proviſions for twenty days, with a deſign to find out the Miſſiſippi, which the ſavages of that country diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Malbouchia*, and the Spaniards by that of *La Palliſado*. He entered it on the 2d of March, with all his people, in two boats, and found the name which the Spaniards had given to it extremely applicable, becauſe its mouth was full of trees, a continual ſupply of which was ſwept thither by the current.

After having explored this branch of its mouth, hitherto ſo long ſearched after, he went to impart his diſcovery to M. de Chateaumorand, who was advancing with every ſail, and whoſe inſtructions being only to accompany De Iberville to this ſituation, departed in the François, and on the 20th of April directed his courſe for St. Domingo. Having made the neceſſary preparations, De Iberville re-entered the Miſſiſippi, with a deſign to aſcend that great river, and he had not proceeded far, when he found that little dependance was to be placed on the narrative which had been publiſhed under the name of the Chevalier de Tonti. On his arrival at the village of Bayagoulas,

goulas, the chief of theſe ſavages conducted him to a temple of the following deſcription. The roof was adorned with figures of animals. There was at the entrance a ſheet eight feet wide, by eleven in length, ſupported by pillars, with a beam placed acroſs. On each ſide of the door were other figures of animals, ſuch as bears and wolves, likewiſe of various birds. The chief cauſed the door to be opened, which was only three feet high, and two feet in width, and he entered firſt. This temple was a cabin, conſtructed like the other in the village, in the form of a cone, thirty feet in diameter: there were placed in the centre two logs of wood, which were burning, and produced a quantity of ſmoke. A kind of platform was raiſed a little way from the ground, on which were placed ſeveral packages of ſkins of deer, bears, and buffaloes, which had been preſented as offerings to the chouchouacha, or opoſſum: this animal is the deity of the Bayagoulas, and was delineated in ſeveral parts of the temple, in red and black. Its head is about the ſize of that of a young pig, its hair is browniſh, its tail is like that of a rat, the feet like a monkey's, and the female has under the belly a bag, where ſhe carries her young.

The village was compoſed of ſeven hundred cabins, each of which contained a family, and was lighted from the door, and from an opening

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ing of two feet in diameter made in the centre of the dome.

From thence De Iberville aſcended to the Oumas, where he was cordially received. He ſtill however entertained ſome doubts that the river which he navigated was the Miſſiſippi, but a letter which he received from a ſavage chief relieved him from this inquietude. The letter was written by the Chevalier de Tonti, and bore the following addreſs: "*M. de la Sale, Gouverneur de la Louyſiane.*" It began thus: "From "the village of Quinipiſſas, the 20th of April "1685. Having found the poſt where you "placed the arms of the King, overturned by "the ſwelling of the waters and the floating "timber, I planted another, about three leagues "diſtant from the ſea, and have left a letter in "the hollow of an adjoining tree. All the na- "tions whom I viſited have ſung the calumet of "peace. Theſe people regard us with great "veneration and awe, ſince you defeated the "inhabitants of this village. I conclude by "aſſuring you that I was much diſappointed "that we ſhould have been obliged to return, "having the misfortune not to have found you, "after coaſting in two canoes on the ſide of "Mexico for thirty leagues, and for a diſtance "of twenty leagues on the ſide of Florida."

De

De Iberville, re-aſſured by this letter, returned into the bay of the Biloxi, ſituated between the Miſſiſippi and the Mobile, built a fort at three leagues from the Paſcougoulas, left there M. de Sauvole to command it, and returned to France. He did not long remain there, and arrived at the Biloxi on the 8th of January. He then learnt, that towards the end of September laſt year an Engliſh corvette of twelve cannon had entered the Miſſiſippi; that M. de Bienville, who had gone to ſound the mouths of the river, had ſeen this veſſel at twenty-five leagues diſtance from the ſea, and had acquainted the commander, that if he would not return, he was in a ſituation to oblige him to that meaſure. This menace produced the deſired effect; but the Engliſh commander, in withdrawing, ſaid, that he would ſoon return with a greater force; that fifty years had elapſed ſince this country was firſt diſcovered by them, and that the claim of the Engliſh to its poſſeſſion was preferable to that of the French.

De Iberville conſtructed a ſmall fort, and placed there four pieces of cannon, giving the command to Bienville. This fort was ſituated at the mouth of the river, on the eaſt ſide: whilſt they were buſied in erecting it, the Chevalier de Tonti arrived, with about twenty Canadians, who belonged to the eſtabliſhment of the Illinois.

After

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After having finiſhed his fort on the Miſſiſippi, and aſcended the river as high as the country of the Natchez, De Iberville formed the deſign of ſettling a colony in that part of the river, which he called *Roſalie*. He returned to the bay of the Biloxi, where he eſtabliſhed the head quarters of his new colony. The Spaniards made no oppoſition to him, and the commandants of the two nations were apparently actuated by the ſame views, with this difference, that the one was uſefully ſerving his ſovereign, by amuſing the French with commerce; and the other, whilſt in expectation of being placed in a condition more effectually to ſerve his prince, believed in the mean time that nothing was neglected to promote that object.

The Governor of Penſacola declared to a French officer, when he went to demand permiſſion to enter his port, that he had orders to prohibit the Engliſh and all trading companies from forming eſtabliſhments in the neighbourhood of the Miſſiſippi; but not to refuſe to receive into his port veſſels of the King of France. On this information M. de Iberville wrote to the miniſter, that it was the opinion of thoſe who were beſt acquainted with the nature of that part of America, that Louiſiana could never be ſettled, if freedom of commerce was not allowed to all the merchants of the kingdom.

There

There were two objects which, at this period, formed the principal part of the commerce of Louiſiana, wool, which was procured from the wild cattle of the country, and the pearl fiſhery. The inſtructions of De Iberville therefore pointed out, that ſuch were the chief advantages which his diſcoveries would procure.

The King had alſo adopted meaſures for ſending miſſionaries to the different tribes of ſavages, who inhabited the banks of the Miſſiſippi, and whoſe numbers were at that period very conſiderable. Fathers Dongé and Du Ru, Jeſuits, came from France, and Father De Limoges from Canada; but, the Biſhop of Quebec, whoſe dioceſe is the moſt extenſive in the habitable world, exacted from them conditions with which they were diſſatisfied. M. de Montigny, and two other eccleſiaſtics for foreign miſſions, had gone from Quebec to Louiſiana, inveſted with all the ſacerdotal powers of the prelate. The Jeſuits believed that theſe prieſts were not diſpoſed to act in concert with them, and received an order from their ſuperior to withdraw.

Other miſſionaries of their order had for a long time maintained a flouriſhing church among the Ilinois, who were not at that period, as they afterwards were, in the government of Louiſiana, and they for many years continued to inſtruct that nation, in whom the Chriſtian religion produced 1700.

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duced a change of manners and character, which it alone is capable of effecting. Before that period there were not, perhaps, throughout the whole extent of Canada, ſavages who poſſeſſed fewer good qualities, and a greater number of vices. They at all times ſhewed much mildneſs and docility; but they were cowardly, treacherous, deceitful, diſhoneſt, brutal, without any principle of honour, unfaithful, intereſted, addicted to gluttony, and to a depravity of deſire unknown to the other ſavages of Canada: they were likewiſe, therefore, deſpiſed by the other nations. They were not on that account leſs conceited, or leſs prejudiced in their own favour.

Allies of ſuch a character could not do much honour to the French, nor render them any material ſervices. They had, notwithſtanding, none that were more faithful, and they were the only nation, except the Abinaquis, who never courted, to the prejudice of the French, a reconciliation with their enemies. They were ſenſible, it is certain, of the advantages of their aſſiſtance in defending them againſt their enemies, who ſeemed to have contemplated their ruin; and particularly againſt the Iroquois and Outagamis, who, by continually harraſſing them, had in a great meaſure rendered them warlike, and from whom the former gained nothing by their expeditions

peditions but the acquirement of a portion of their vices.

But, what chiefly contributed to attach the Ilinois to the French intereſt, was the introduction of Chriſtianity, which they ardently embraced; to which may be added, the firm and uniform conduct of the Chevalier de Tonti, and of the Sieurs de la Forêt and Dolietto. Theſe three officers had long commanded in the country of the Ilinois, and had the addreſs to gain a great influence over that people.

When M. de la Sale, in his firſt voyage down the river Miſſiſippi, came among the Ilinois, he was informed that this people had been prejudiced againſt the French, and he found himſelf in the midſt of their camp, which was on each ſide the river, at a place where the current carried the canoes with much greater rapidity than he wiſhed; he therefore ordered his people to arm, and to range the canoes in front of the enemy, ſo that the whole breadth of the river was occupied. The Ilinois, who had not yet diſcovered the little fleet ranged in order of battle, became alarmed when they deſcried it. Some took to their arms, others to flight, and great diſorder and confuſion ſeemed to take place among them. La Sale, who had a calumet of peace, would not produce it, that he might not appear apprehenſive of the power of the

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the ſavages. As they were ſufficiently near to each other to converſe, they demanded the name of the country to which the French belonged: on this information being immediately given them, they preſented three calumets of peace, the French at the ſame time exhibiting that which was in their poſſeſſion, and their terror changing to ſudden joy, they conducted the French to their cabins, laviſhed on them a thouſand careſſes, and recalled their countrymen who had fled.

In the ſummer ſeaſon they wore no covering whatever, except for the feet, on which they put ſhoes made of the ſkins of wild cattle, and in the winter they defend themſelves againſt the cold, which in theſe regions is piercing, although of ſhort duration, by ſkins which they dreſs and ornament with paintings. They are tall, ſtrong, and robuſt in their perſons, and expert in the uſe of the bow and arrow. They had not before ſeen fire arms, with ſome of which La Sale preſented them.

It is the cuſtom of the Ilinois to conceal in pits, during winter, their Indian corn, in order to preſerve it until the ſpring; and they ſet out during that ſeaſon to diſtant places, in ſearch of wild cattle and beavers, carrying with them very little grain.

The

The Taenſas inhabit the borders of a ſmall lake formed by the river Miſſiſippi. They have eight villages; the walls of their dwellings are made of earth mixed with ſtraw, the roof is of canes, and faſhioned into a dome ornamented after their mode of painting. They have beds and ſeveral other moveables, made of wood, as are alſo the embelliſhments of their temples, in which they inter their chiefs. Their cloaths conſiſt of a white blanket, made of the bark of a tree, which they ſpin and weave. Their chief is abſolute, and, without conſulting any perſon, diſpoſes of all according to his will. He and all his family are ſerved by ſlaves, taken in battle. His food is placed in the open air, before his cabin, and he drinks out of a cup appropriated for his ſole uſe. His wife and children are treated with the ſame deference, and all other Taenſas addreſs them with ceremony and reſpect.

La Sale being at a ſmall diſtance from the village, ſent thither ſome of his people with preſents, and the chief, not ſatisfied with returning a quantity of proviſions, wiſhed alſo to ſee La Sale; he diſpatched a maſter of ceremonies with ſix other perſons to clean the road over which that traveller was to paſs, to prepare a place for his reception, and to cover it with a mat of canes, delicately worked. The chief, clothed in a white

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robe, and preceded by two men carrying large fans of white feathers, afterwards arrived. A third perſon carried a ſheet of copper, and a round plate of the ſame metal, both highly poliſhed. The chief, in this viſit, preſerved a demeanor extremely ſolemn and grave, but nevertheleſs full of confidence and marks of amity.

The whole of this country is adorned with palm-trees, with laurels of two ſpecies, with prune-trees, peach-trees, mulberry, apple, and pear-trees of various kinds. There are alſo nuts of five or ſix different qualities, ſome of which are of an extraordinary ſize.

The ſavages in general, who frequent the borders of the Miſſiſippi, appear to be affable and docile. They cheriſh few ſentiments of religion: ceremonies of a religious tendency are, however, obſervable amongſt them: they preſerve a particular veneration for the ſun, whom they acknowledge as the creator and preſerver of the univerſe. It is remarkable that their languages ſhould have no affinity to each other, although no great diſtance intervenes between their nations. In order to preſerve their independence, they ſuffer not their tongues to become common, and mutual interpreters, from one tribe to another, are always reſident when they are in alliance. They differ widely from the ſavages of Canada

Canada in their habitations, habiliments, manners, inclinations, and cuſtoms, and even in their outward appearance.

The Taenſas have extenſive public places allotted for games and aſſemblies. They appear more cheerful and lively than the ſavages of the north. Their chief ſeems to poſſeſs an authority almoſt abſolute, and no one preſumes to paſs between him and a flambeau of cane, which is kept burning in his houſe; his attendants go round it, with ceremony. He has officers who follow and ſerve him every where: he beſtows rewards, and diſtributes preſents according to his pleaſure.

La Sale met with no nation acquainted with the uſe of fire-arms, nor even with tools of iron. They uſed knives and hatchets of ſtone. Among many, he found bracelets of pearl, but they had been pierced by means of fire.

In his travels, he met with a nation called Biſcatronge, but whom he and his companions named Pleureux, becauſe on the arrival of thoſe Frenchmen they wept bitterly for a quarter of an hour. It is a practice among them, when they encounter travellers, to recal to mind their deceaſed relations, whom they believe to be on a long journey, and whoſe return they pretend to await.

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The Cenis are a people very numerous, and occupy a very fertile territory. They are compoſed of different cantons extending for upwards of twenty leagues, having villages of from ten to twelve cabins, bearing each diſtinct names. The cabins are neat, being from twenty to thirty feet high, made like bee-hives. They plant trees in the earth which join at top, and which they cover with long graſs. Their beds are elevated about three feet from the ground, the fire being placed in the centre of the cabin. Each cabin contains two families. They poſſeſſed a number of articles which unqueſtionably were procured from the Spaniards, ſuch as dollars and other coin, ſilver ſpoons, lace of every deſcription, cloaths, and horſes. Among other things was found a printed paper, containing a bull from the Pope, exempting the Spaniards of Mexico from abſtaining from the uſe of fleſh at certain periods during ſummer. Horſes are here common, and in great abundance.

The Spaniards are known to them only by means of their allies, the Chaumans, who are always at war with the former.

After having remained here for a few days to refreſh his party, La Sale purſued his route to the Naſſonis. Theſe nations are allied with the two laſt, and poſſeſs nearly the ſame genius and character.

The

1700.

The Kunvatinno are a people cruel to their enemies, whom they put alive into the cauldron, and devour.

The chiefs and young men of the Cadodachos received the party with the calumet of peace, which they gave them to ſmoke, ſome holding their horſes by the bridle, others carrying them in triumph, believing them to be ſpirits, and of a country not belonging to this world. The whole village aſſembled; the women, according to their cuſtom, waſhing the hands and feet of the travellers with warm water; they afterwards placed them on an elevated ſeat, covered with a white mat. Feaſting, dancing with the calumet, and other public rejoicings followed day and night. Theſe people had never before ſeen Europeans, whom they had known only by name. They have, like the other nations through which the travellers paſſed, confuſed ideas of religion, and pay their adoration to the ſun. Their dreſſes of ceremony are ornamented with two figures of that luminary, and with repreſentations of cattle, ſtags, ſerpents, and other animals.

Among two nations called the Catminio and the Mentous, the travellers received the calumet of peace in their hands, with every demonſtration, on the part of the natives, of joy and reſpect. The chief lodged them in his cabin, cauſing his family to remove, and regaled them for ſeveral

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days with every ſpecies of viands. A public feſtival was given, during which the calumet was danced for twenty-four hours, with ſongs made for the occaſion, which the chief vociferated with all his force, conſidering them as people of the ſun, who were come to defend him againſt his enemies by the bolts of their thunder.

This nation of the Natchez inhabited one of the fineſt climates, and one of the moſt fertile countries in the univerſe: they were the only people on that part of the continent who appeared to have a regular form of religion. Their mode of worſhip reſembled in certain points that of the ancient Romans. They had a temple filled with idols, conſiſting of different figures of men and animals, for which they ſhewed the moſt profound veneration. The form of their temple reſembled a large oven of earth, being a hundred feet in circumference: the entrance was by a ſmall door of four feet in heighth and three in breadth: the edifice had not any window. The vault was covered with three rows of mats placed one upon the other to prevent the rain from ſpoiling the maſonry. Above, and on the outſide, were three wooden figures of eagles, painted red, yellow, and white. Before the door there was a kind of ſhed, with a ſecond door, where the guardian of the temple was lodged: the whole was ſurrounded by a fence of palliſades,

ſades, on which were expoſed the ſcalps of all the heads, which their warriors had brought from the various combats in which they had been engaged with the enemies of their nation.

In the interior of the temple there were ſmall ſhelves placed at a certain diſtance from each other, on which were ſet baſkets of cane of an oval figure, containing the bones of their ancient chiefs; and beſide theſe, thoſe of the victims who cauſed themſelves to be ſtrangled, that they might follow their maſters into the other world. Another ſeparate ſhelf contained ſeveral baſkets well painted, in which their idols were kept: theſe conſiſted of figures of men and women, made of ſtone and burnt clay; the heads and tails of uncommon ſerpents, ſtuffed owls, pieces of cryſtals, and jaws and teeth of large fiſh. They had, in 1699, a bottle and the foot of a wine glaſs, which they preſerved as articles of great value.

They took care to maintain in this temple a perpetual fire, and great attention was beſtowed to prevent its riſing to a flame: for this purpoſe they uſed only dry and hard woods. The ancients were obliged to carry each in his turn a large junk of wood to the entrance, or to the palliſade. The number of guardians of the temple was fixed, and they ſerved each three months. He who was on duty remained like a

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centinel in the ſhed, from whence he watched the fire; this was nouriſhed by three large pieces of wood, whoſe inner extremities only were allowed to burn at the ſame time, and which, to avoid flaming, were never placed one upon the other.

Of all the females of the nation, the ſiſters of the great chief only were permitted to enter the temple: this privilege was with-held from all the others, as well as from the lower ranks of people, even when they brought food for the manes of their relations, whoſe bones repoſed in the temple. The viands were given to the guardian, who carried them to the ſide of the baſket where the bones of the dead were depoſited; this ceremony endured but for a moon. The viands were afterwards placed on the palliſades of the court, and were abandoned to the wild animals and birds.

The ſun was the principal object of veneration among that people, as they conceived that nothing can be ſuperior to this luminary: nothing, likewiſe, appeared more worthy of their homage; and it was for this reaſon that the grand chief of the nation, who knew of no perſon upon earth ſuperior to himſelf, aſſumed the quality of brother to the ſun. The credulity of the people maintained him in the deſpotic authority with which he was inveſted. And in order to preſerve

ſerve it, a mound of earth was raiſed, on which they built his cabin, of the ſame conſtruction with the temple. The door was expoſed to the eaſt. Every morning the great chief honoured with his preſence the riſing of his elder brother, and as ſoon as he appeared above the horizon, ſaluted him by a repetition of howlings; he then gave orders that his pipe ſhould be lighted, made him an offering of the three firſt mouthfuls of ſmoke which he drew, and raiſing his hands above his head, and turning at the ſame time from eaſt to weſt, pointed out to him the route he was to purſue in his diurnal courſe. 1700.

There were in his cabin ſeveral beds on the left of the entrance, but on the right was the bed of the grand chief adorned with different painted figures. This bed conſiſted only of a palliaſs compoſed of canes and reeds, with a ſquare piece of wood which ſerved him as a pillow. In the centre of the cabin there was a ſmall boundary: no perſon was allowed to approach the bed without making the circuit of that incloſure. They who entered ſaluted with a howl, and advanced to the extremity of the cabin, without caſting their eyes towards the ſide where the grand chief was: they afterwards gave a freſh ſalute, by lifting the arms above the head, and howling three times. If they were perſons whom the chief regarded, he anſwered by a faint ſigh, and

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made them a ſign to be ſeated: he was thanked for his attention by a new howl. At every queſtion which the chief made, they howled once, before they returned an anſwer, and when they took leave of him, they drew out one continued howl until they retired from his preſence.

When the grand chief died, his cabin was demoliſhed, a new mound of earth was raiſed, and another cabin was erected for him who was to fill his dignity, who never lodged in that of his predeceſſor. The ancients were the legiſlators and judges for the reſt of the people: one of the principal laws was to have a ſovereign reſpect for the grand chief, as brother of the ſun, and maſter of the temple. They believed in the immortality of the ſoul: when they quitted the preſent ſtate of being, they went, they ſaid, to inhabit another, there to receive recompenſe or puniſhment. The rewards which they promiſed themſelves conſiſted principally in good living, and the chaſtiſement, in the privation of every ſpecies of enjoyment. They thus believed, that ſuch as were faithful obſervers of the laws, would be conducted to a region of delight, where all ſorts of the moſt exquiſite viands would be ſupplied them in abundance; that their days would paſs in pleaſure and tranquillity, in the midſt of feaſts, of dances, and of women, and that they ſhould taſte of every pleaſure imaginable. That on the contrary,

contrary, the tranſgreſſors of the laws would be caſt upon lands unfertile and covered with water, which would produce no kind of grain, and that they ſhould be expoſed naked to the torturing bites of muſquitoes: that all the nations ſhould make war againſt them, and that they ſhould never eat but of the fleſh of crocodiles and of the worſt ſpecies of fiſh.

Theſe people implicitly obeyed the will of their chief: they regarded him as the abſolute maſter, not only of their property but of their life, and not one among them dared to refuſe his head, when he choſe to demand it. For whatever labour he impoſed upon them, it was forbidden them to require any recompenſe. The French, who often had occaſion for hunters or rowers for their long voyages, addreſſed themſelves to the grand chief alone. It was he who ſupplied all the men they wanted, and received payment without giving any part to thoſe unhappy people, who had not even the privilege of complaining. One of the principal articles of their religion, particularly for the attendants of the grand chief, was to honour his obſequies by dying with him, that they might ſerve him in the next world. They blindly ſubmitted with cheerfulneſs to this law, in the vain perſuaſion, that in the company of their chief they ſhould enjoy the greateſt happineſs.

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To convey an idea of this ſanguinary ceremony, it muſt be announced, that ſo ſoon as a preſumptive heir to the grand chief was born, every family where there was an infant at the breaſt gave him the homage of that child. Out of theſe children, a certain number was choſen, deſtined to the ſervice of the young prince, and when they became of a competent age, an employment was given them conformable to their capacities: ſome ſpent their lives in the chace, or in fiſhing, or for the ſervice of his table; others were occupied in agriculture, others only as followers or attendants: when he died, all theſe ſervants ſacrificed themſelves with joy to follow their dear maſter. They on this occaſion aſſumed their fineſt dreſs, and went together to the ground oppoſite the temple, where all the people of the village alſo aſſembled. After having danced and ſung for a conſiderable time, they paſſed around their neck a cord with a running knot, and ſoon after the miniſters deſtined for this kind of execution came to ſtrangle them, recommending to them to rejoin their maſter, and to reſume in the other world employments yet more honourable than thoſe they exerciſed in the preſent.

The principal domeſtics of the grand chief having been ſtrangled in this manner, their bones were ſtripped, and left to dry for two months in a kind

a kind of tomb; after which they were taken out, to be ſhut up in the baſkets, and placed in the temple beſide thoſe of their maſter. The other ſervants who had been ſtrangled were carried home by their relations, and interred with their arms and cloaths. BOOK X. 1700.

The ſame ceremony was likewiſe obſerved, on the death of the brothers and ſiſters of the grand chief. Women were always ſtrangled to follow them, provided they had not a child at the breaſt. There were however inſtances of their delivering their children to nurſes, or of putting them to death themſelves, that they might not forego the privilege of being ſacrificed, according to the uſual ceremonies ordained by the law.

The government was hereditary; but the ſons of the reigning chief did not ſucceed their father; the ſons of his ſiſter, the firſt princeſs of the blood, were his declared ſucceſſors. This policy was founded on the knowledge which they had of the libertiniſm of their wives. They were not certain, ſaid they, that the children of their wives were of the blood royal; whereas the ſons of the ſiſter of the grand chief were at leaſt ſo by the ſide of their mother.

The princeſſes of the blood never eſpouſed men of an obſcure family; they had only one huſband, but they were at liberty to repudiate him whenever they pleaſed, and to make choice of

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of another among thoſe of the nation, provided there was no alliance between them. If the huſband was guilty of infidelity, the princeſs immediately cauſed him to be put to death: ſhe was not ſubject to the ſame law, for ſhe could enjoy as many lovers as ſhe pleaſed, without the huſband being ſuffered to complain. He conducted himſelf in the preſence of his wife with the greateſt reſpect; he did not eat with her; he ſaluted her by howling, as was practiſed by her domeſtics. The only ſatisfaction he enjoyed was that of being exempt from labour, and of having authority over thoſe who ſerved the princeſs.

Formerly the nation of the Natchez was conſiderable; ſixty villages were reckoned, and eight hundred ſuns or princes: in 1730 it was reduced to ſix ſmall villages and eleven ſuns. In each of theſe villages there was a temple, where fire was continually kept up, as in that of the grand chief, whom all the other ſuns obeyed.

It was the grand chief who had the patronage of all the employments in his ſtate, the principal of which were, the two chiefs of war, the two maſters of ceremony for worſhip which was rendered in the temple, the two officers who preſided at the other ceremonies which were obſerved when ſtrangers came to treat for peace; four others,

others, whoſe charge it was to direct the feaſts with which they publicly regaled the nation, and ſtrangers who came to viſit them; the officers who inſpected public works. All theſe miniſters who executed the will of the grand chief, were reſpected and obeyed, in the ſame manner as if their orders had been given by himſelf in perſon.

Every year the people aſſembled to ſow an immenſe field with Indian corn, beans, pumkins, and melons. They came together in the ſame manner for the harveſt. A large cabin ſituated in a beautiful meadow, was deſtined to contain the produce of the fields. Towards the end of July the people every year collected, by order of the grand chief, to aſſiſt at a great feſtival which he gave. This feſtival laſted three days and three nights; each contributed towards it whatever he could furniſh; ſome brought game, others brought fiſh. The entertainment conſiſted of almoſt continual dancing; the grand chief and his ſiſter were ſeated in a lodge, elevated and covered with foliage, from whence they contemplated the joy of their ſubjects: the princes, the princeſſes, and they who by their office were of diſtinguiſhed rank, ranged themſelves near the chief, to whom they marked their ſubmiſſion and reſpect by an infinity of ceremonies. The grand chief and his ſiſter made their

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their entry into the place of the aſſembly on a litter carried by eight of the talleſt men: the chief held in his hand a ſceptre adorned with feathers; all the people danced and ſung around him, in token of the public joy. On the laſt day of the feſtival he commanded all his ſubjects to approach him, and delivered to them a long harangue, in which he exhorted them to fulfil the duties of religion: he recommended them above all things to preſerve a great veneration for the ſpirits who reſided in the temple, and to give good inſtructions to their children. If any one had ſignalized himſelf by ſome zealous action, he gave him public praiſe. A circumſtance of that nature took place in the year 1702. The thunder having fallen on the temple, and having reduced it to aſhes, ſeven or eight women threw their infants into the flames to appeaſe the wrath of heaven. The grand chief ſtiled theſe women heroines, and beſtowed ſtrong encomiums on them for the courage which had prompted them to make a ſacrifice of that which was moſt dear to them: he concluded his panegyric by exhorting the other women to imitate, in any ſimilar conjuncture, ſo brilliant an example.

The fathers of families failed not to carry to the temple the firſt of the fruits, conſiſting of grain and vegetables: there were alſo preſents made to the nation; they were offered at the entrance

entrance of the temple, where the guardian, after having expoſed them to view, and preſented them to the ſpirits, carried them to the grand chief, who made a diſtribution of them as he thought fit, without the ſmalleſt diſſatisfaction being ſhewn by any one.

No land was planted or ſown, until the ſeed had been preſented at the temple with the accuſtomed ceremonies. When theſe people approached the temple, they raiſed their arms out of reſpect, and ſent forth three howlings, after which they rubbed their hands on the ground, raiſing themſelves three times, with as many reiterated howlings. When they only paſſed the temple, they merely ſtopped to ſalute it with downcaſt eyes, and lifted up arms. If a father or a mother perceived that their children neglected the obſervance of this ceremony, they puniſhed them immediately with ſome blows with a cudgel.

Such were the ceremonies of the Natchez with reſpect to religion. Thoſe of their marriages were very ſimple. When a young man had reſolved to marry, he addreſſed himſelf to the father of the girl; or ſhould he no longer have exiſted, to her elder brother: the terms were agreed on, and paid in furs, or merchandiſe. Although a girl may have led a life far from virtuous, no objection was made to her on that

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account, as it was the cuſtom for females of that deſcription to change their conduct on being married. The choice is made indifferently from any family, provided the girl is agreeable to her intended huſband. The only attention on the part of her relations, is to inquire whether the man who demanded her in marriage was ſucceſsful in the chace, a good warrior, or a ſkilful huſbandman. Either of theſe qualities diminiſhed the ſum which was exacted from him previous to his marriage.

When the parties were agreed, the future huſband went to the chace with his friends, and when he procured, either in game or in fiſh, a ſufficient quantity to regale the two families who contracted the alliance, they aſſembled in the cabin of the relations of the bride: the newly married couple were ſerved ſeparately from the reſt, and they eat out of the ſame diſh. The repaſt being finiſhed, the bridegroom preſented tobacco to the relations of his wife, and then to his own, and after the company had ſmoked, they retired. The new-married couple remained together until the morning, when the huſband conducted his wife to her father-in-law, in whoſe cabin ſhe lodged until the family had built them a new cabin. During the time of its conſtruction he paſſed the whole day in the chace, to ſupply food to thoſe employed on it.

The laws of the Natchez permitted them to have as many wives as they choſe: thoſe, however, of the lower orders ſeldom had more than one or two. The chiefs had a plurality of wives, becauſe having the privilege of getting their lands cultivated by the people, without any payment, the number of their wives was not burdenſome.

The marriage of theſe chiefs was performed with leſs ceremony than that of the lower claſs; they were ſatisfied with ſending for the father of the girl of whom they had made choice, and declaring to him that they placed her in the rank of their wives. The marriage was then concluded, and they made a preſent to the father and mother. Although they had ſeveral wives, they kept only one or two at a time in their cabin; the others remained with their parents, where they had acceſs to them when they thought proper.

There are certain ſeaſons of the moon, when the ſavages do not viſit their wives. Jealouſy enters ſo faintly into their breaſts, that many find no difficulty in lending their wives to their friends. This indifference in the conjugal union ariſes from the liberty which they have of changing when they pleaſe, provided their wives have had no children by them; for if there are any

BOOK X. born in the marriage, nothing but death can separate them.

1700. When this nation formed a detachment for war, the chief of the party planted two poles painted red, adorned with red feathers from top to bottom, and with arrows and clubs. They who wiſhed to engage in the party, after having decked and painted themſelves with various colours, came to harangue the chief of war. This harangue, which they delivered one after the other, and which laſted nearly half an hour, conſiſted in a thouſand proteſtations of ſervice, by which they aſſured him that they wiſhed for no greater happineſs than to die with him. That they were ſatisfied to learn, under ſo expert a warrior, the art of ſcalping, and that they feared neither the hunger nor fatigues to which they ſhould be expoſed.

On a ſufficient number of warriors having preſented themſelves to the war chief, he cauſed to be prepared in his cabin a drink which was called the medicine of war. This was a vomitive, compoſed of a root boiled in kettles full of water. The warriors, ſometimes to the number of three hundred men, having ſeated themſelves around the kettle, to each was ſerved about a gallon; the ceremony was to ſwallow it at one draught, and to render it again by the mouth with efforts

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ſo violent, that they might have been heard at a great diſtance. After this ceremony the chief of war fixed the day for their departure, that each might make a proviſion neceſſary for the campaign. During this time, the warriors appeared every morning and evening in the place of arms, where after having danced, and recounted in detail the brilliant actions in which their bravery had been diſplayed, they ſung their ſongs of death.

To have beheld the exceſſive joy which they ſhewed on their departure, it might have been conceived that they had already ſignalized their valour by ſome great victory; but very little is neceſſary to diſconcert the projects of ſavages. They are ſo ſuperſtitious with regard to dreams, that nothing more is wanted than one of unfavourable omen to ſtop the execution of their enterpriſe, and oblige them to return when they are on a march.

It often happens that parties who have gone through all the ceremonies which have been mentioned, break off ſuddenly from their voyage, becauſe they have heard a dog bark in an extraordinary manner: their ardour for glory is then converted into fear.

In their war expeditions, they march always in files; four or five of their beſt walkers take the lead, and advance about a quarter of a league

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before the army, to obſerve, and give notice of any thing they ſee. They encamp every evening an hour before ſun-ſet, and laying themſelves around a great fire, each places his arms near him. Before encamping, they take care to ſend twenty or more warriors half a league round the environs of the camp to avoid all ſurpriſe. They never place a centinel during the night; but as ſoon as they have ſupped, they extinguiſh the fire. The chiefs of war recommend to them on the evening not to deliver themſelves up to a profound ſleep, and always to have their arms in readineſs. A rendezvous is always previouſly ſettled, in caſe they ſhould be attacked in the night, and diſperſed.

As the chiefs of the Natchez always carried with them their idols, or what they termed their ſpirits, well wrapped up in a hide; they ſuſpended them on the evening to a ſmall rod painted red, and planted in a ſloping direction, ſo that it might incline towards the ſide of the enemy. The warriors, before they laid themſelves down to reſt, paſſed with the war club in their hand, one after the other, dancing before theſe pretended ſpirits, and denouncing great vengeance towards the quarter where they ſuppoſed their enemies to be encamped.

When the war party was numerous, and when it entered upon the territory of the enemy, the

ſavages

ſavages marched in five or ſix columns, and ſent out ſeveral ſpies to reconnoitre. If they perceived that their march was diſcovered, they uſually adopted the reſolution of returning, and detached a ſmall body of ten or twelve men, who ſeparated, with the hope of ſurpriſing ſome detached hunters of the enemy. On their return they ſung and recounted the number of ſcalps which they had taken off. If they made any priſoners, they obliged them to ſing and dance for ſeveral ſucceſſive days before the temple, after which they were preſented to the relations of thoſe who had been ſlain in the war. During this ceremony the relations melted into tears, and dried them with the ſcalps which had been brought home: they then ſettled the recompence for the warriors who had brought theſe ſlaves, whoſe lot it was to be burnt.

The Natchez, as well as all the other nations of Louiſiana, diſtinguiſhed by particular names thoſe who had killed more or leſs of the enemy. Theſe names were conferred by the ancient chiefs, according to the merits of the warriors. To deſerve the title of Great Slayer of Men, it was required that the perſon ſhould have made ten priſoners, or have carried off twenty ſcalps. In their language, the name of the warrior announced all his exploits. They who for the firſt time carried off a ſcalp, or made a ſlave, did not,

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on their return, cohabit with their wives, or eat any meat; they only lived on fiſh and corn. This abſtinence laſted for ſix months. If they failed in its obſervance, they imagined that the ghoſt of him whom they had ſlain would cauſe them to die by ſorcery; that they ſhould never gain any advantage over an enemy, and that the ſlighteſt wound which they ſhould receive would prove mortal.

They took great care that the grand chief ſhould not be in danger of loſing his life when he went to war. If his courage led him to expoſe himſelf, and if he fell in battle, the chiefs of the party, and the other principal warriors were put to death on their return: but theſe executions were almoſt without example, by the precautions which they took to preſerve him from this misfortune.

The Natchez had, like the other ſavages, their doctors, or jugglers; theſe were generally old men, who, without ſtudy, and without any ſcience, undertook to cure every ſpecies of malady: for this end they made uſe neither of ſimples nor drugs; their art conſiſted wholly in various ceremonies and deceptions: they danced and ſung by night or by day around the ſick perſon, and they ſmoked inceſſantly, ſwallowing the fumes of the tobacco. Theſe jugglers did not eat during the whole time they were engaged in the cure

cure of their patients. Their ſongs and dances were accompanied by ſuch violent contorſions, that although they were naked, and ought to have ſuffered from cold, their mouth was always foaming. They had a ſmall baſket, in which they kept what they called their ſpirits or *manitous*; theſe conſiſted of ſmall roots of different kinds, of heads of owls, of ſmall packets of deer's hair, ſome teeth of animals, ſmall pebbles, and other ſimilar trifles.

It appeared, that to reſtore health to their ſick they inceſſantly invoked the contents of their baſket. Some had a certain root, which by its odour renders ſnakes torpid and harmleſs. After having rubbed the hands and body with this root, they held theſe animals without being afraid of their bite, which is mortal. Others cut with a flint the afflicted part of the patient, and then ſucked out all the blood they could draw from the wound, which they immediately put into a diſh, ſpitting out at the ſame time a ſmall piece of wood, of ſtraw, or of leather, which they had concealed under their tongue; and, calling the attention of the relations of the ſick, they ſaid, behold the cauſe of the diſeaſe. Theſe doctors always inſiſted on being paid in advance. If the diſeaſed was recovered, their gains were conſiderable: but if he died, they were certain of being put to death by the friends or relations of the deceaſed.

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deceaſed. A ceremony in the obſervance of which they never failed, and the parents or relations of the quacks made no oppoſition to it, nor teſtified any mortification or concern.

There were ſome jugglers who even undertook to procure rain or fine weather: theſe were uſually old or indolent perſons, who unwilling to ſubmit to the fatigues of the chace, of fiſhing, or of cultivating land, exerciſed this dangerous profeſſion in order to maintain their family. Towards the ſpring, the people bought of theſe jugglers favourable weather for the productions of the earth. If the harveſt was abundant, they reaped conſiderable gain; but if it was bad, vengeance was taken, and their heads were broken. Thoſe who engaged in this profeſſion thus riſked all for all. Their mode of life was extremely inactive; they had no other trouble but to faſt, and to dance with a reed in their mouth, full of water, and pierced like a watering-pan: with this they ſpouted water into the air, in the direction of the thickeſt clouds: they held in one hand the chichicoua, and in the other their ſpirits, which they preſented to the clouds, ſending forth the moſt frightful cries, to cauſe them to burſt upon their fields. If fine weather was demanded, they made no uſe of their reeds, but they aſcended the tops of their cabins, and with the arm made a ſignal to the clouds, blowing with all

all their force, not to ſtop upon their lands, but to paſs beyond them. When the cloud diſperſed as they wiſhed, they danced and ſung around their ſpirits, which they depoſited on a kind of pillow; they redoubled their faſt, and when the cloud was paſt they ſwallowed fumes of tobacco, and preſented their pipes to heaven. 1700.

Although little favour or reſpect was ſhewn to theſe jugglers when they obtained not what was wiſhed, the profit however was ſo great, when by chance they ſeemed to ſucceed, that a conſiderable number of ſavages feared not to incur the riſk. They who undertook to procure rain, never engaged to bring fine weather. Another ſpecies of jugglers had this privilege; and when the reaſon was aſked of them, they confidently replied that their ſpirits could not beſtow both.

When one of the ſavages died, his relations aſſembled to deplore his death for a whole day; they afterwards covered the body with the beſt cloaths of the deceaſed; they painted his face and hair, which they adorned with the fineſt plumage, and afterwards conveyed him to the grave which was prepared for him, and in which they placed at his ſide his arms, or kettle and proviſions. During the ſpace of a month his relations came, at the dawn of day, and at ſun-ſet to his grave, where they poured forth lamentations for the ſpace of half an hour: every one named

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named his degree of kindred. If it was the father of a family, the wife exclaimed, "My dear huſband, how much do I regret your loſs:" the children cried, "My dear father:" the others, "My uncle, my couſin," &c. They who were related in the neareſt degree, continued this ceremony during three months: they cut off their hair in token of mourning; they ceaſed to paint their bodies, and attended no aſſembly of rejoicing.

When ſome foreign nation came to treat of peace with the Natchez, they ſent couriers to give advice of the day and hour of the arrival of their ambaſſadors. The grand chief then gave orders to the maſters of the ceremonies to make the neceſſary preparations for this great occaſion. They began by naming thoſe who were to entertain each day the ſtrangers, for the chief never incurred this expence. They cleaned the roads; the cabins were ſwept; benches were arranged in a large hall which was on the riſing ground, and beſide the cabin of the grand chief. His ſeat, which was elevated above the reſt, was adorned with feathers, and painted; the ground was covered with large mats.

On the day on which the ambaſſadors were to make their entry, all the nation aſſembled. The maſters of the ceremony arranged the princes, the chiefs of the villages, and the ancient chiefs of

of family, near the grand chief, upon benches allotted for them. When the ambaſſadors arrived within the diſtance of five hundred yards from the grand chief, they ſtopped, and ſung the ſong of peace. The embaſſy conſiſted uſually of thirty men and ſix women. Six of the beſt proportioned, and having the ſtrongeſt voices, marched in front; they were followed by the reſt, who likewiſe ſung, regulating the cadence by the chichicoua.

When the chief deſired them to approach, they immediately advanced; they who had calumets ſung and danced with much agility, turning around each other, and ſometimes preſenting themſelves in front, but always with violent movements, and extraordinary contorſions. When they entered into the circle, they danced around the ſeat on which the chief was placed; they rubbed him with their calumets from the feet to the head, afterwards moving backwards until they rejoined thoſe of their ſuite. They then filled one of their calumets with tobacco, and holding fire in one hand and the pipe in the other, they advanced together towards the grand chief, and gave him the pipe to ſmoke: they puſhed the firſt mouthful to the ſky, the ſecond to the earth, and the others towards the horizon; after which they preſented, without ceremony, the pipe to the princes and the other chiefs.

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1700. The ambaſſadors, in token of alliance, came to rub their hands on the ſtomach of the chief, rubbing at the ſame time the whole of their own bodies, and placed their calumets before him on ſmall forks ſtuck in the ground. The ambaſſador who was particularly charged with the inſtructions of his nation, delivered an harangue of an hour in length. When he had finiſhed, a ſignal was made for the ſtrangers to be ſeated on benches, arranged near the chief, who anſwered them by a ſpeech of equal length. The maſter of the ceremony then lighted the great pipe of peace, and gave the ſtrangers to ſmoke, who ſwallowed the fumes of the tobacco; they were afterwards conducted to the cabin ſet apart for them, where they were regaled.

In the evening at ſun-ſet, the ambaſſadors with the pipe in their hand came ſinging, in ſearch of the grand chief, and taking him upon their ſhoulders tranſported him to the place where their cabin ſtood. They ſpread upon the ground a large ſkin, on which they invited him to ſit. One of them poſted himſelf behind, and placing his hands on the ſhoulders of the chief, agitated his whole body, whilſt the reſt, ſitting around on the earth, ſung their warlike exploits. After this part of the ceremony, which was performed morning and evening during four days, the grand chief returned to his cabin. When he paid the laſt

laſt viſit to the ambaſſadors, they planted a poſt, at the foot of which they ſat. The warriors of the nation, arrayed in their beſt dreſs, danced around the poſt, ſtriking it at intervals, and recounting one after another their deeds of valour. They then made to the ambaſſadors preſents, conſiſting of kettles, hatchets, fuſils, powder and lead ſhot. BOOK X. 1700.

The day following this laſt exhibition, it was permitted to the ambaſſadors to walk through the village, an indulgence which was not before granted: they were every night entertained with dancing: the men and women in their beſt attire aſſembled in the ſquare, and danced until late in the night. When they were ready to return, the maſters of ceremony ſupplied them with the neceſſary proviſions for the journey.

The Ilinois are ſituated in 38 degrees 15 minutes of latitude. The climate is very different from that of New Orleans, and reſembles ſomewhat that of France; the great heats are there felt ſooner and more powerfully, but they are neither conſtant nor durable. The colds arrive later. In winter when the north winds blow, the Miſſiſippi becomes frozen, ſo as to bear loaded carriages, but theſe colds are not laſting. The winter is here an alternative of piercing cold and mild weather, according to the prevalence of the north and ſouth winds, which regularly ſucceed Ilinois.

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ceed each other. This ſudden change is very prejudicial to the fruit trees. The weather is milder, and even ſomewhat warm towards the month of February: the ſap of the fruit trees aſcends, they are covered with bloſſoms, and a ſtorm frequently comes from the north which deſtroys the moſt flattering appearances.

The ſoil is fertile, and every ſpecies of vegetables, if cultivated, ſucceeds here as well as in Europe. Corn does not repay the trouble of ſowing: but it muſt be remarked, that the lands were cultivated with negligence, and that they never were manured. This want of ſucceſs in the raiſing of corn proceeds alſo from the thick fogs, and too ſudden heats; but to recompenſe this defect, the maize or Indian corn, known in Europe by the name of Turkey corn, beſtows an abundant produce, giving a thouſand for one. This conſtitutes the food of the domeſtic animals, of the ſlaves, and of the greater part of the natives of the country. The earth yields a quantity of proviſions, threefold more than can be conſumed. In no place is the chace more productive: from the middle of October to the end of March the inhabitants live upon game, particularly wild cattle and deer.

The buffaloe, the deer, the ſtag, the bear, and the wild turkey, abound in all parts, and in every ſeaſon, except near the ſpots which are inhabited.

bited. The hunter muſt go to the diſtance of one or two leagues to find the deer, and of ſeven or eight to find the buffaloes. During part of the autumn, part of the winter, and of the ſpring, the country abounds in ſwans, outardes, geeſe, ducks of three ſpecies, wild pigeons, teal, and certain birds as large as fowls, which in this country are termed pheaſants, (but which are wood hens,) partridges, and hares.

The horned animals have there multiplied to an exceſs: they coſt neither care nor expence. The animals uſed in labour feed in a large common around the village; the others, in much greater numbers, deſtined for the propagation of their kind, were ſhut up the whole of the year in a peninſula of more than ten leagues of ſurface formed by the Miſſiſippi, and the river of the Tamarouas. Theſe animals which were ſeldom approached, became almoſt wild, and it was neceſſary in catching them to make uſe of artifice. An inhabitant, if he wanted a yoke of cattle, went to the peninſula: if he perceived a bull of a ſize worthy of being tamed, he threw a handful of ſalt, he ſtretched out a long cord with a running knot, and concealed himſelf. The animal eager for the ſalt, approached: when he had put his foot in the ſnare, the man drew the cord, and the bull was taken. The ſame practice was uſed for calves, horſes, and foals. Theſe animals

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are here not ſubject to any diſorders, they live a long time, and generally die of old age.

There were in this part of Louiſiana five French villages, and three of the Ilinois, in the ſpace of twenty-two leagues, ſituated in a long meadow, bounded on the eaſt by a chain of mountains and by the river of the Tamarouas, and on the weſt by the Miſſiſippi. The five French villages compoſed together about a hundred and forty families, and conſiſted of eleven hundred white perſons, three hundred blacks, and ſixty red ſlaves, or ſavages. The three villages of the ſavages might have furniſhed three hundred men in a condition to carry arms. There are in the country ſeveral ſalt ſprings, one of which at two leagues from the principal ſettlement ſupplied all the ſalt that was conſumed there or in the neighbouring country, and even at many poſts in the dependence of Canada. There are mines without number, but as no perſon found himſelf in a condition to incur the neceſſary expences to open and work them, they remained in their original ſtate. Some individuals ſatisfied themſelves with drawing lead from them, which was found at the ſurface of the earth. With this they ſupplied the country, all the ſavage nations of the Miſouri and Miſſiſippi, and ſeveral poſts of Canada. Borax was alſo found in mines, and in ſome ſpots ſmall quanti-

ties

ties of gold. There are alſo mines of copper, and large pieces of that metal have frequently been found in the rivers. The Ilinois formerly comprehended an immenſe extent of territory; it ſtretched into the vaſt regions which the Miſſouri, and the rivers which throw themſelves into it, interſect and adorn with their waters.

The inhabitants of the Ilinois are of three claſſes; French, negroes, and ſavages; to which may be added, mulattoes. The Frenchmen, inured to the climate, generally occupied themſelves in the culture of the lands; they ſowed great quantities of corn; they raiſed European cattle, hogs, and horſes in vaſt numbers, which, beſides the chace, furniſhed them with abundance for the ſupport of life. They tranſported to New Orleans great quantities of flour.

The ſavages inhabiting this country are of a character mild and ſociable: they are not defective in capacity and natural good ſenſe, of which they poſſeſs a greater ſhare than many of the European peaſantry; as much at leaſt as the moſt part of the French, which proceeds from the free ſtate in which they are educated. They are never timid: as there is no rank or dignity amongſt them, every one appears to them to be their equal. The greateſt part of them is capable of maintaining a converſation with any perſon, provided he treats not of ſubjects beyond the

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ſphere of their knowledge: they are well acquainted with raillery: they are ſtrangers to aſſumption, or diſpute in converſation, and they poſſeſs qualities which are not common even among civiliſed people. They are diſtributed into cabins. A cabin is a kind of common chamber, in which fifteen or twenty perſons generally reſide together. They live in great harmony with one another, which ariſes in ſome meaſure from their allowing every one to act according to his inclination. From the beginning of October to the middle of March they go to the chace, to the diſtance of forty or fifty leagues from their village. In the latter month they return home, and their women begin then to ſow their maize. The men, except ſome ſhort excurſions to the chace, lead a life of perfect indolence; ſmoking their pipe and converſing together occupies the greateſt part of their time.

When the firſt miſſionaries arrived among this people, they were ſaid to be compoſed of five thouſand perſons of every age: in 1750 their population was reduced to two thouſand. The number of the nation had diminiſhed no leſs than three thouſand in the ſpace of ſixty years.

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Magazines and Barracks conſtructed on the Iſle Dauphine.—Council to decide on all Affairs civil or criminal, for three Years, compoſed of the Governor, chief Commiſſioner, and Regiſter.—Saint Denys ſent by Land to endeavour to open a Commerce with the Spaniards of New Mexico.—Is conducted to the Capital—confined in Priſon—liberated, and ſent back with Preſents from the Viceroy.—Marries Donna Maria de Vileſcas, Daughter of the Governor of Saint John.—Treaſon of the Natchez.—Fort and Magazines conſtructed in the Great Village of that Nation.—State of Commerce.—Crozat ſurrenders his excluſive Privilege.—Government and Commerce veſted in the Company of the Weſt.—Government of the Ilinois Country joined to that of Louiſiana.—Firſt Settlement of New Orleans.—Attack on Penſacola. Capture of that Place.—Miſſionaries arrive in Louiſiana.—Conſpiracy of ſeveral ſavage Nations againſt the French.—Maſſacre of the French by Natchez.—The Sun, the Grand Chief of the Natchez, ſent, with his Family and Attendants, to Saint Domingo, to be ſold as Slaves.—Diſperſion of that People.—Company of the Indies retrocede to the King their Sovereignty over Louiſiana and the Ilinois.

BOOK XI.

NEWLY diſcovered countries ſometimes have ſhared the fate of individuals, with reſpect to the erroneous judgment which, for a length

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of time, may have been formed of their qualities and value. At a period when the thirſt for diſcovering mines of gold and ſilver prevailed, and when commerce had not acquired any great degree of extenſion, the advantages of a favourable climate, and of a ſoil capable of producing with abundance every article requiſite for the ſupport and convenience of human life, were not inducements ſufficiently powerful to incite the inhabitants of France voluntarily to emigrate from their country, for the purpoſe of amaſſing wealth by induſtry, eſpecially as that could not procure them the ſame degree of conſideration and weight as is beſtowed on it in ſome other countries of Europe.

The extravagant opinion which at firſt had been formed of Louiſiana, aroſe ſolely from the proſpect of ſudden riches to be derived from mines; and as ſoon as it was ſuppoſed to be deſtitute of theſe valuable ſources, it ſunk, in the ſame proportion as it had riſen, in the general eſtimation. The ſucceſs of the Spaniards of New Mexico afterwards tended again to exalt the ideal value of Louiſiana.

The latter nation, under the conduct of Ferdinand Soto, had incurred a great expence to form an eſtabliſhment in Florida, and their commander employed the laſt year of his life in exploring the two borders of the Miſſiſippi. Nei-

ther he, nor Moſcoſo his ſucceſſor, had taken any meaſures to found a colony; and it appears that the Spaniards were long ignorant, that one of the largeſt rivers in the univerſe traverſed the middle of Florida, and watered a charming country, ſituated under a climate temperate and healthy, and whoſe poſſeſſion would have completely inſured to the Catholic King that of the whole Gulph of Mexico.

The French, after having diſcovered a very conſiderable part of the courſe of this river, did not ſeem to pay much greater attention than the Spaniards to the advantages which might be derived from thence; and a period of thirty years elapſed in the ſame indifference towards that country. At length the vicinity of the mines of New Mexico, and thoſe which were reported to have been diſcovered in Louiſiana, having rouſed the French nation from its ſtate of torpidity, there iſſued in leſs than three years from the kingdom more men, money and effects, to form an eſtabliſhment in this part of America, than had gone from France ſince the time of Francis the Firſt, for any of the colonies in the New World.

But when it was aſcertained that the country produced neither gold nor ſilver, and that it was not without induſtry that riches could be made to flow from thence, it ſuddenly fell into general

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diſcredit: no regard was paid either to the fertility of the ſoil, or to the productions, which, with a ſmall degree of labour, it could furniſh, or to the importance of having a cruiſing ground in the Gulph of Mexico. The treaſures which were brought thither from France, diſappeared; the coloniſts either periſhed through miſery, although they might have procured the means of living in opulence, or diſperſed themſelves into different quarters.

When M. d'Iberville left Louiſiana, it contained no French habitations, except thoſe of ſome Canadians ſettled at the Ilinois, a fort near the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, which was maintained only for five years, and another at the Biloxi, on the ſea coaſt. D'Iberville had intruſted the charge of the firſt to M. de Bienville his brother, and to the Sieur Juchereau de St. Denys, who was much beloved by the ſavages, and ſpoke with facility the languages of ſeveral nations. He had alſo given an order to M. le Sueur his relation, to go with twenty men to form an eſtabliſhment towards the country of the Sioux, and to take poſſeſſion of a copper mine which had been diſcovered there. This ſmall detachment departed on the end of April, aſcended the Miſſiſippi to the falls of St. Anthony, and entered into the river St. Peter, which diſcharges itſelf into the former at that place, and which

which has been named the Green River, becauſe an earth which it waſhes from the mine communicates to it that colour. Le Sueur could only navigate a league upwards, having found it covered with ice, although the month of September was not yet elapſed. He was therefore obliged to erect in that ſituation a kind of fort, where he might paſs the winter, which laſted until the month of April, and was extremely rude and ſevere.

When that month arrived, Le Sueur viſited the mine, which was diſtant only three quarters of a league, and in twenty days drew from thence more than thirty thouſand pounds weight of matter: he ſelected four thouſand weight of the choiceſt part of it, and ſent it to France. The place from whence he drew it was at the baſe of a mountain which is ten leagues in extent, and which appeared to be of the ſame materials. It is on the banks of the river, produces not a ſingle tree, and is covered with a thin vapour which iſſues from its bowels.

In the following year D'Iberville made a third voyage to Louiſiana, and began an eſtabliſhment on the river Mobile. He there laid the foundation of a fort, to which, a little time after, M. de Bienville, who ſucceeded to the command of the colony by the death of M. de Sauvole, tranſported every thing which he had at the Biloxi, and abandoned

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abandoned that poſt. D'Iberville, on his return, for the fourth time, cauſed to be conſtructed in the iſland of Maſſacre magazines and barracks, becauſe this iſland poſſeſſing a harbour, it was more eaſy there to unload the ſtores which ſhould be brought from France, than to convey them in boats to the fort of the Mobile. The name of *Iſle Dauphine* was at that time given to the new ſettlement. The inhabitants had no other means of ſubſiſtence than what was drawn from France, and from the ſavages, many of whom were prevailed on to fix themſelves in the vicinity of the Mobile, where they cleared a conſiderable quantity of land, and lived upon good terms with the French. The *Apalaches* came thither of their own accord, preferring the neighbourhood of the French to that of the Spaniards, among whom they had for ſome time been eſtabliſhed.

It could not be aſſerted that the name of a colony could be given to the French in Louiſiana, or at leaſt it received no form, until the arrival, in 1708, of M. Diron d'Artaguette, in quality of firſt commiſſioner. The earlieſt care of this magiſtrate, was to put the inhabitants in a ſtate to cultivate the lands, which appeared to be fertile on the banks of the Mobile, that they might no longer be obliged to run over the country to procure a ſubſiſtence by the chace, or with the

the ſavages, when the veſſels of France deſtined to convey them proviſions were retarded on their voyage. But the ſucceſs ariſing from thence did not anſwer his expectations. It was found that the earth contained but a ſmall depth of good ſoil at its ſurface, and that the wheat was generally injured by the fogs, which produced a mildew. The inhabitants then betook themſelves to the culture of tobacco, which was attended with greater ſucceſs.

The iſland of Dauphine having been pillaged by an Engliſh armed veſſel, the commiſſioner concluded from thence on the neceſſity of ſtrengthening its fortifications. In this reſpect, according to the ſyſtem at that time prevalent, he reaſoned with propriety; it being thought expedient to fix the colony in that poſition, at ſome diſtance to the north-eaſt of the mouth of the great river, as it was then ſuppoſed to be the only port where veſſels could diſcharge their cargoes.

M. d'Artaguette returned to France the ſame year, and afforded to the court conſiderable information reſpecting the country. Some years before, M. de Muys, major of the troops in Canada, had been nominated governor of Louiſiana, but that officer having died on his way thither, the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac was appointed his ſucceſſor,

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ſucceſſor, and in the inſtructions given him by the King it was ſtated, that his majeſty having thought fit to grant to the Sieur Crozat the excluſive privilege of the commerce of Louiſiana for a term of ſixteen years, and to him and his heirs for ever, the mines and minerals which he might diſcover and work, on the conditions ſet forth in the letters patent, he enjoined, that on the arrival of ſuch veſſel of the ſaid Sieur Crozat, he ſhould examine if the ſtipulation of bringing into the colony ſix young women, or the ſame number of young men, was ſtrictly executed. The King added, that the Sieur d'Artaguette, commiſſioner of the colony, having returned to France, he had made choice of the Sieur Duclos to execute the functions of chief commiſſioner: that as there was not yet any officer of juſtice in Louiſiana, and it was not convenient at that period to ſend thither judges, becauſe the country was not ſufficiently ſettled, he had nevertheleſs eſtabliſhed for three years a ſuperior council to decide on all affairs that ſhould be brought before it, as well civil as criminal; and, to compoſe this council, he had made choice of the governor and the commiſſioner jointly, and of a regiſter; and that according to the manner in which they ſhould exerciſe the adminiſtration of juſtice, which was intruſted to them, he ſhould form

form his reſolution of continuing, and of augmenting this eſtabliſhment of a council, or of totally diſſolving it.

M. Crozat, on his part, had recommended to the governor, whom he aſſociated with him in commerce, to ſend detachments to the country of the Ilinois for the diſcovery of mines; and to that of the Spaniards of Old and New Mexico, to eſtabliſh a commerce with theſe two provinces. The firſt held the government of France for ſeveral years in ſuſpenſe, and ended in nothing. The ſecond was not more fortunate. La Motte Cadillac had ſcarcely diſembarked on the iſland of Dauphine, when he ſent the veſſel in which he had arrived to Vera Cruz. But the voyage proved fruitleſs. M. de la Jonchere, who commanded the veſſel, could not obtain from the viceroy permiſſion to ſell his cargo: he was preſented with ſome animals and other proviſions, of which he was in want, and was obliged ſhortly to depart. The governor entertained the hope of ſucceeding better in another attempt which he made by land for the ſame object, but it had no better ſucceſs than the firſt. He had confided the conduct of this expedition to the Sieur St. Denys, than whom he could not have made a better choice. He gave him merchandiſe to the amount of near five hundred pounds ſterling, and agreed that he ſhould leave

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able river a fort which was called *Saint Jean Baptiſte*, and likewiſe *Preſidio del Norte*. He was there well received by the commandant Don Pedro de Vileſcas, who took him into his family. After ſome days of repoſe, St. Denys entered on negotiation with Don Pedro: he informed him he was come on the part of the governor of Louiſiana, to preſent to him a propoſal to open a commerce under certain regulations with that colony, and that he ſhould dictate the conditions.

The Spaniſh commandant anſwered, that he could do nothing without the permiſſion of the governor of *Caouis*, his immediate ſuperior, to whom he would forthwith ſend an expreſs to receive his orders. Caouis is at ſixty leagues diſtant from the *Preſidio del Norte*, on the way to Mexico. The governor having read Vileſca's letter, ſent twenty-five horſemen to conduct St. Denys to Caouis, and after examining his paſſport, told him it was neceſſary he ſhould go to the viceroy at Mexico. To this he conſented, but did not ſet out until the following year. From Caouis to Mexico, the diſtance is two hundred and fifty leagues. St. Denys performed this journey under conduct of an officer, and an eſcort of the twenty-five horſemen. On arriving at the capital of New Spain, he was preſented to the viceroy, to whom he delivered his paſſport.

His

His excellency having read it, returned it to him, and without attending to a ſingle word from him, committed him to priſon. He remained there for three months, and perhaps would never have recovered his liberty, had it not been for the interceſſion of ſome of his countrymen, officers in the ſervice of the Catholic King. He was at their ſolicitation liberated from his confinement, and the viceroy gave him three hundred piaſtres and a convenient lodging, and invited him often to his table. The more he became known to his excellency, the more ſtrongly the latter became impreſſed with a ſenſe of his talents and worth; he therefore omitted no means of endeavouring to induce him to prefer, to the ſervice of a poor colony, the more advantageous and profitable ſervice of New Spain: he told him, that many of his countrymen had already given him an example to that effect, which they had no reaſon to regret. Some of the French officers alſo uſed their influence to prevail on him to act as they had done, and aſſured him that they found their ſituation perfectly agreeable.

St. Denys had no rank in Louiſiana, and ſerved there only as a volunteer: he was offered a company of cavalry, which he declined accepting, and, notwithſtanding every argument which was uſed, perſiſted in his refuſal. The viceroy

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told him that he was already half a Spaniard, ſince he had engaged to marry the daughter of Don Pedro de Vileſcas, and it was ſettled that the nuptials were to be ſolemnized on his return to Fort St. John.

"I cannot diſſemble," replied St. Denys, "ſince your excellency has been informed that I have an attachment for that young lady, but I never entertained the hope of obtaining her for a wife." "You ſhall obtain her," replied the viceroy, "if you will accept of the offer which I have made, and I give you two months to conſider of it." At the end of that period he again ſounded him, and having found him inflexible, he took his leave, putting into his hand a purſe containing a thouſand dollars, telling him that it was to defray the expences of his marriage. "I hope," added he, "that Donna Maria will have more influence than me to determine you to remain in Mexico. With reſpect to the liberty of commerce with Louiſiana, which you have travelled ſo far to ſolicit, it is not in my power to grant it."

The following day he ſent him a very fine horſe from his ſtable, and ordered him to be conducted to Caouis by an officer and two horſemen. From thence they proceeded to the habitation of Don Vileſcas, whom he found in a ſtate of great embarraſſment. This commandant had

had recently been informed that all the inhabitants of four ſavage villages, diſguſted with the vexations of the Spaniards of *Preſidio del Norte*, were about to withdraw to another ſituation, and he was apprehenſive that he ſhould be made reſponſible for this deſertion, which would, beſides, reduce his command to great extremities, becauſe the garriſon could only ſubſiſt by means of theſe ſavages.

He communicated his anxiety to M. de St. Denys, who offered to go in ſearch of theſe barbarians, and to endeavour to prevail on them to return. Don Pedro embraced him, telling him that he would be expoſed to danger if he went alone. St. Denys replied, that he was under no apprehenſion, and immediately mounted his horſe, taking with him Jallot, his valet de chambre, and ſurgeon. He was not long in overtaking the ſavages, whoſe baggage, women, and children rendered their march extremely ſlow; and as ſoon as he perceived them at a diſtance, he placed his handkerchief at the end of a little rod, in token of a flag, and then advanced to their chiefs who waited for him.

He repreſented to them, in the Spaniſh language, the danger to which they were about to expoſe themſelves in going to ſettle amongſt people to whom they were ſtrangers, and whom he knew to be extremely inhoſpitable and cruel.

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He then told them, that if they would return to their former habitation, he would promiſe them on the part of the commandant, that no Spaniard ſhould ever again ſet foot in their villages, which was as much as they deſired, and that in future they ſhould have no cauſe to diſapprove of the conduct of the officers and ſoldiers. They yielded to his perſuaſion, and Don Pedro was as much ſurpriſed as delighted to behold his gueſt return with all the ſavages, whoſe retreat would infallibly have ruined him. He immediately ratified the promiſes which St. Denys had made them, and they re-entered their villages, where it was forbidden to the Spaniards on pain of death to ſet foot without an expreſs permiſſion.

After ſo eſſential a piece of ſervice, St. Denys had little difficulty in obtaining from Vileſcas his conſent to eſpouſe his daughter, and the marriage was celebrated with all the Spaniſh pomp and magnificence which the place where they were could afford. He remained at St. John for ſix months after his marriage; at length conceiving that he ought no longer to delay rendering an account to M. de la Motte Cadillac of the ſucceſs of his commiſſion, he departed for the Mobile with Don John de Vileſcas, uncle of his wife, whom he left behind with a promiſe of returning as ſoon as poſſible.

During

During the courſe of theſe negotiations and adventures, the governor of Louiſiana had ſent the Sieur de la Loire to the Natchez with merchandiſe, to eſtabliſh magazines in their country. M. de la Motte Cadillac, on his return from the fort of the Ilinois, which he had been to viſit, received an embaſſy from ſeveral nations, and at the ſame time from the Alibamons, until then the declared enemies of the French, who offered to build at their own expence a fort in their village, and to receive Frenchmen into it. Their offer was accepted, the fort was built, and M. de la Tour, a captain, took poſſeſſion of it, with two lieutenants and ſome ſoldiers.

It was ſoon after diſcovered that the Natchez had ſome treaſonable purpoſe in contemplation: they killed four Frenchmen who were travelling with ſome of their people, and they intended the ſame fate for M. M. de la Loire, the elder of whom had gone to the Ilinois with another band of theſe barbarians, and the younger remained in their great village. But one of thoſe who accompanied the firſt, gave him warning to be upon his guard. He took the earlieſt opportunity of ſpeaking on this ſubject to every one ſingly, without diſcloſing the perſon who had revealed the ſecret of their deſign, and he promiſed a conſiderable reward, and gave his word that he would make no diſcloſure of it, if they would

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communicate to him the whole truth. They all declared to him, that at ſix leagues from the place where they then were, and in a ſituation where they muſt come nigh to the banks of the river, to avoid a dangerous gulph, a hundred and fifty of their people armed with fuſils, and who had at their head a chief named Le Barbec, awaited them, and that he muſt infallibly periſh there. This advice from eight perſons, who all aſſured him of the ſame circumſtance, made La Loire form the reſolution of immediately returning; but as he had every reaſon to believe that the conſpiracy on the part of the Natchez was general, he ſuffered much anxiety on account of his brother. Penicaut, who accompanied him, made offer to effect his brother's eſcape from the great village of the Natchez, which he did by the following means: The company being arrived about an hour and a half before evening, at the landing-place of the Natchez, Penicaut went aſhore alone, and told the Sieur de la Loire to wait there until midnight, and that if he did not return before then, he might conclude he was dead. He went to the quarters of the young La Loire, about a league diſtant from thence, having only his fuſil and ſome ammunition. As he approached the village, ſome Natchez who perceived him haſtened to acquaint La Loire of the arrival of a Frenchman, who going out to learn

learn who it was, and recognizing Penicaut, demanded the reaſon of his journey, and enquired after his brother. Penicaut anſwered, that he had fallen ſick; but when he entered his quarters, he requeſted him to ſend in ſearch of the great chief of the Natchez, who immediately obeyed the ſummons. Penicaut informed him that ſix of the eight Natchez who had accompanied the Sieur de la Loire, and him, to proceed to the Ilinois, were ſeized with ſickneſs; that they had been therefore obliged to put back, and that they were at the landing-place. He begged that he would ſend next morning thirty ſavages to unload the canoe, and to tranſport the merchandiſe to the ſtore. With this the grand chief promiſed to comply, and added that M. de la Loire had acted prudently in not proceeding further, becauſe he entertained ſome apprehenſions for him, on account of the Yaſous, a perfidious nation, and inimical to the French. Penicaut made no reply, and ſhewed an entire confidence in the chief; but when the latter retired, he revealed to La Loire the ſubject of his journey, and gave him to underſtand, that he muſt think only of ſaving himſelf by flight, and that not a moment was to be loſt. La Loire told him, that it would not be an eaſy matter to effect it in ſecrecy, becauſe three ſavages ſlept

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in his chamber; but Penicaut re-aſſured him, ſaying, he would be anſwerable for its ſucceſs.

They pretended to go to reſt, and the ſavages immediately fell aſleep. Penicaut wiſhed to put them to death, but La Loire prevented him, concluding that it was difficult to kill three men without ſome one of them having time to cry out. Penicaut then ſoftly opened the door, and made La Loire go out, who had the precaution to charge his fuſil. A ſhort time after he went out himſelf, locked the chamber on the outſide, and run to rejoin his companion. As they approached the landing, they met the elder La Loire, who began to become very anxious; they embraced each other, and afterwards took leave of the eight Natchez, having beſtowed on them a liberal recompence.

At ten o'clock next morning they arrived among the Tonicas, and had not yet departed from them, when they ſaw three Natchez diſembark, whom the great chief had diſpatched to engage them to maſſacre all the French who were in their village. The chief of the Tonicas, who was a good man, and a friend to the French, revolted at ſuch a propoſal. He was inclined, inſtead of replying, to put to death the perſons who carried the meſſage, but an eccleſiaſtic, who was miſſionary of his village, oppoſed his intention.

tion. M. M. de la Loire continued their journey, and arrived at the Mobile, where their countrymen were ſurpriſed to ſee them, and ſtill more at the cauſe of their return. M. de la Motte Cadillac conceived that he ought not to leave unpuniſhed the treaſon of the Natchez, and raiſed a party of a hundred men, conſiſting of ſoldiers and inhabitants, under the orders of M. de Bienville, lieutenant of the King, to whom he joined M. de Pailloux, major of the army; M. de Richebourg, a captain, du Tiſné, a lieutenant, and the two brothers who had lately eſcaped from that nation. As they paſſed before the bay of the Tonicas, they obſerved a bag ſuſpended to the branch of a tree on the borders of the river, and therein they found a letter from M. Davion, who having learnt that they ſhould paſs that way without ſtopping, gave them advice that a Frenchman, named Richard, returning from the Ilinois, had been taken by the Natchez; that theſe barbarians, after having robbed him of his merchandiſe, had led him to their village, had cut off his hands and feet, and had thrown him alive into the kennel. Hitherto M. de Bienville conceived that the De la Loires had been influenced by ideal apprehenſions, but the contents of this letter tended to undeceive him. He did not think he had a force ſufficient to proceed immediately to the Natchez: he entered into the bay

of

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of the Tonicas, conſtructed a fort there, and ſent Du Tiſné with twenty men to the great chief of the Natchez, to inform him that he had an affair to communicate to him, and to requeſt that he would come to the Tonicas. Du Tiſné returned the following day, and reported to M. de Bienville that the grand chief propoſed immediately to follow him. He did not however leave his village, but ſent to the French commander ſome ſubordinate chiefs with twenty-five men. Bienville, when he perceived their canoes at a diſtance, raiſed on the borders of the river five ſtandards, erected a number of tents, and cauſed all the drums to be beaten, to make them ſuppoſe that he had at leaſt ſix hundred men. The ſavages diſembarked and entered the fort with as much confidence as if they were coming to pay a viſit. They then preſented to the commander a calumet of peace, which he rejected: this made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the barbarians, that they gave up every hope of ſafety. Bienville told them with an angry air, that he was come to demand ſatisfaction for the murder which they committed on five Frenchmen, and that he inſiſted on their delivering up the murderers, or at leaſt bringing him their principal. They anſwered, that what he demanded was not in their power to grant, but that if it was his pleaſure, they would ſend ſome of their number to acquaint the

the great chief of his intentions. He conſented, on condition that all the others ſhould remain his priſoners, and he cauſed them to be conducted to a cabin, where they were under his immediate view. They who had gone on this buſineſs to the Natchez, ſoon returned, and preſented to the commander the head of a man whom the great chief had put to death, but who was not concerned in the murder. Bienville aſked them if they meant only to deceive him, and added, that he inſiſted on having the heads of the guilty, and particularly that of the chief, whom he expreſsly named.

The deputies anſwered, that this chief was the nephew of the Seur, who would ſooner ſee his whole village periſh, than ſacrifice this young man, the moſt brave of all the nation; and that among thoſe whom he had detained were the four murderers of the French, on whom he might execute juſtice. Bienville called them forth immediately; they wiſhed to deny the fact, but they were convicted, and were inſtantly executed. There was among them a chief ſo much diſliked by all the neighbouring nations for his cruelty and treachery, that his death had long been deſired. The French having taken ſatisfaction with reſpect to the maſſacre of their countrymen, deliberated on what was moſt fit to be purſued in the conjuncture in which they found themſelves,

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ſelves, and it was thought that the Natchez, if they were puſhed to extremity, being in a condition to interrupt the navigation of the river, and all communication with the Ilinois, it was more advantageous to profit by the conſternation with which they were inſpired, to make peace with them, and to propoſe to them the following conditions:

That they ſhould conſtruct at their own expence, and in a ſituation which ſhould be marked out to them, a fort in their great village, with magazines, and lodgment neceſſary for a garriſon, and agents, who ſhould be eſtabliſhed there: That they ſhould reſtore all the property in merchandiſe which they had taken from the French, and make full ſatisfaction for all the loſſes they had cauſed to them: That the nephew of the great chief, whoſe conduct was ſo culpable, ſhould not appear in the village under pain of death. Theſe articles were read to the deputies, who approved of them, and M. Pailloux with twenty men was ordered to go to the great chief to get them ratified by him. He entered the village with his drum beating and enſign flying: all they who were partial to the French ran towards him, and received him with loud acclamations. He went directly to the cabin of the Sun, and preſented him the conditions of peace; the chief accepted them, and ſaid, that he only waited

waited for the orders of M. de Bienville to commence the conſtruction of the fort. On this anſwer reaching the commander, he departed from the Tonicas with fifty men to proceed to the Natchez, where the Sun, followed by the whole inhabitants of his village, received him on diſembarking from his canoe. Next day he marked out the place where he intended the fort ſhould be built, which was immediately traced, and M. de Pailloux was charged with the office of directing the workmen. At the end of ſix weeks it was finiſhed, and M. de Bienville, who was then at his camp among the Tonicas, returned with all his men to take poſſeſſion of the fort. He cauſed to be added, lodgings for the officers, barracks for the men, and magazines for merchandiſe, ammunition, and proviſions. The fort was named *Roſalie*, after the name of Madame de Ponchartrain. The Natchez afterwards ſung the calumet to M. de Bienville, who paſſed the remainder of the year in that place. Before his departure, he gave the command to the Sieur de Pailloux, with whom he left Tiſné the lieutenant. He afterwards ſet out for the Mobile, where he did not remain longer than was ſufficient to prepare a large convoy, which he conducted to the Natchez.

It was about the ſame time that M. de St. Denys arrived at the Mobile, and the anſwer which

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which he brought from the viceroy of New Spain, depriving M. de la Motte Cadillac of all hope of carrying on openly a commerce with the Spaniards, he thought on his part of preventing their too near approach to the French, which it appeared to be their deſign to effect. For this purpoſe he ordered the Sieur du Tiſné to ſet out to conſtruct a fort on the iſland of the Natchitotches. The fort was ſcarcely finiſhed, when Du Tiſné learnt that the Spaniards had formed a ſettlement among the Aſſinais, and there was every reaſon to believe that their project was to puſh on to the Miſſiſippi, if they were not prevented: the governor of Louiſiana therefore reinforced the garriſon at the Natchitotches.

The excluſive commerce granted four years ago to M. Crozat, far from accelerating the progreſs of the colony, had been highly prejudicial to it, and he had likewiſe not found the advantages which he had promiſed himſelf from thence. The advancement of a colony, and the profits to be derived from its trade, are immediately dependent on each other. To benefit by the latter, the colony muſt firſt be peopled to a certain degree, and the inhabitants muſt attain to a ſtate to conſume the merchandiſe brought to it, and to give the produce of the country in return. This cannot be acquired, without at firſt making very great advances in money.

We

We ſhall now endeavour to ſhew in what ſtate the colony of Louiſiana was found, when M. Crozat obtained his excluſive privilege, and that in which it was when he renounced this privilege. In 1712 there were only twenty-eight French families in the province, of which not one half employed themſelves in the cultivation of the land, or could properly be ſtiled inhabitants; the reſt conſiſted of merchants, tavern-keepers, and artificers, who ſettled in no fixed habitation. Trade was then carried on ſolely at the Mobile, and at the Iſle Dauphine, and the articles of commerce conſiſted of planks, and ſkins of bears, of deer, of cats, and ſimilar furs. The *Voyageurs*, or *Coureurs de Bois*, almoſt all Canadians, went among the ſavages to exchange whatever of the articles from France they could procure, for ſkins and ſlaves, which they returned to diſpoſe of to the inhabitants: the latter re-ſold the ſkins to the Spaniards of Penſacola, or to the commanders of veſſels who came from France, and employed the ſlaves in clearing the land, or in ſawing planks, which they ſold ſometimes at Penſacola, but oftener at Martinique and St. Domingo. They drew in exchange from theſe colonies ſugar, tobacco, cocoa, and merchandiſe of France, when there happened to be a ſcarcity in their own ſettlement, from the intermiſſion of a direct communication with the parent ſtate. They carried

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ried to Penſacola, where the Spaniards had only cleared a ſmall quantity of land, vegetables, maize, fowls, and in general all that they could derive from their induſtry, and of which their neighbours, much leſs induſtrious and laborious, were in want. All this brought them money, with which they purchaſed what they were obliged to procure from other quarters: it was by no means ſufficient to enrich them, but they gained by it a comfortable ſubſiſtence. They well knew that the country could produce tobacco, indigo, cotton, and ſilk; but hands were wanted for cultivating theſe articles; there was no perſon in the colony who could aſſiſt them, or animate their endeavours; they were likewiſe ignorant of the manner of raiſing them.

The foundations of the colony had ſo little ſolidity, that it was feared the government would abandon it, and that all the trouble and expence which had been beſtowed by individuals would thereby be totally loſt. Many withdrew to other quarters, and others only remained becauſe they had not the means of removing. It was rather a ſingular circumſtance that Crozat, on acquiring for twenty-five years the domains of Louiſiana, together with the excluſive commerce, did not make himſelf better acquainted with the ſituation of affairs, to form his plans on more ſecure grounds: but it ſometimes happens on ſimilar

ſimilar occaſions, that there is a want of confidence in the perſons from whom the beſt information can be derived, and whoſe experience has rendered them the moſt capable of ſeconding a new enterpriſe. A jealouſy is entertained, that the intereſts of the perſon to whom the privilege is granted, will be ſacrificed to that of the perſon who commands, and it is ſeldom reflected, that to ſucceed in an enterpriſe of that nature, the moſt certain mode is to allow a ſhare of the advantages ariſing from thence to thoſe to whom the chief direction is committed, that they may thereby exert themſelves the more to promote its ultimate ſucceſs.

Crozat comprehended not, that little advantage could be drawn from a country, although fertile in itſelf, where the inhabitants are deprived of the means of gaining wealth. He had ſcarcely taken poſſeſſion of his excluſive privilege of commerce, when the veſſels of the iſlands no longer appeared at Louiſiana. The inhabitants were at the ſame time prohibited from going to Penſacola, from whence came all the money which was in circulation in the colony, nor to ſell any article whatever, except to the agents of Crozat, who thereby had it in their power to give to the proviſions of the colony what value they pleaſed, a power which they failed not to abuſe: they at length rated the furs ſo low, that

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the huntſmen, finding they could diſpoſe of them better in Canada, and in the Engliſh colonies, carried the whole to theſe countries.

In maintaining a contrary conduct, the company of Crozat would have acquired credit, and gained the confidence of the coloniſts; he might gradually have led them into his ſcheme, when they had multiplied, and have drawn from the country the whole of its produce.

But in cutting off the ſmall vein of money which flowed in from Penſacola, in leſſening the price of their produce and their merchandiſe, in reſtraining their commerce, whoſe profits would have centered in the company, in augmenting the value of the articles they drew from France, they were deprived of the means of ſubſiſtence, and their lands became of no eſtimation.

This decay of the commerce and agriculture of Louiſiana could not fail to give ſome uneaſineſs to the government, if it was conſidered that after the twenty-five years for which this privilege was held, the colony would be much leſs advanced than it was when Crozat firſt received it, and the King was by no means indemnified by the freight of fifty tons, which the company engaged to allow him in their veſſels. It is true, that the King thereby ſaved the expence of freighting a veſſel, which otherwiſe muſt have been ſent to Louiſiana, to tranſport thither neceſ-

ſaries

ſaries for the troops; but there was an eaſy mode of repaying this expence, by the freight which the veſſel could not fail to find at St. Domingo.

Crozat ſeemed to feel more for the injury which his privilege occaſioned to the intereſts of the King, than that which aroſe from it to the inhabitants of Louiſiana. He therefore propoſed a new arrangement, with a view of facilitating to the officers, ſoldiers, and others employed in the colony the payment of their ſalaries, and the tranſport of merchandiſe and proviſions for the forts, and for the preſents which were annually made to the ſavages. To this the government aſſented. Some months after he preſented a memorial, complaining of various grievances, and by which it appeared that the inhabitants of Louiſiana were much diſſatisfied with his excluſive privilege.

He ſtated that the weakneſs of the French in that colony rendered them contemptible to the ſavages, and put it out of their power to prevent them from harraſſing the inhabitants with continued acts of hoſtility; whence it aroſe that it was impoſſible to eſtabliſh any ſettled commerce in the country, and to ſend veſſels from France without loſing the expences of the voyage. That the Engliſh were approaching their ſettlements very near to the French, who, cantoned on the

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river Mobile, and in the Iſle Dauphine, where the lands were good for nothing, left open to the firſt all the borders of the Miſſiſippi, where they could not be prevented from ſettling, and from penetrating from thence to New Mexico and New Biſcay: that it was not comprehended whence could ariſe the indifference with which in France Louiſiana was conſidered. Crozat ventured to aſſert, that if attention was paid to the advantages which might be drawn from thence, there was no colony whoſe preſervation and proſperity was of greater conſequence to the ſtate. The maritime commerce of the kingdom he ſtated to be reduced to a very inconſiderable compaſs. By the different eſtabliſhments that might be formed at Louiſiana, it might be hoped that if ſerious attention was paid to that colony, the commerce would occupy in a few years a conſiderable number of veſſels. He complained that the officers for the adminiſtration of the government had refuſed to regiſter in the council of the province his letters patent: that all the inhabitants were in oppoſition to him, and that this ſpirit was fomented by thoſe officers who were accuſtomed to trade with the Spaniards.

This repreſentation was apparently made to endeavour to gain over the troops to his intereſts, but as his affairs ſucceeded not better than before, he did not wait until the expiration of the period of

of his privilege, and ſurrendered it to the King the following year. It was then that the celebrated *Company of the Weſt* was formed, which, under the guidance of Mr. Law, charged itſelf by degrees with all the commerce both within and without the kingdom, and from whence aroſe the company of the Indies, attaining afterwards a high degree of proſperity, and the only one that ſucceeded in France ſince the foundation of the monarchy. The letters patent of the firſt, in form of an edict, importing an eſtabliſhment of commerce under the name of the *Company of the Weſt*, and which, regiſtered in the parliament of the 6th of September of the ſame year, declare, that his majeſty granted to the ſaid company for twenty-five years the commerce of Canada, on condition of improving the agriculture and plantations; to exerciſe excluſively during the ſpace of twenty-five years, to be reckoned from the day of the regiſtry, the commerce in the province and government of Louiſiana; and to poſſeſs in perpetuity all the lands, ports, coaſts, harbours, and iſlands which compoſed this province; to enjoy the ſame in full property, with the right of ſeignory, and of adminiſtration of juſtice, his majeſty reſerving no other right but that of fidelity and allegiance, which the ſaid company were bound to render to him, and to preſent to each of his ſucceſſors, on his acceſſion

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the throne, a crown of gold of the weight of thirty marks.

And by another *arrêt* of the 27th of the ſame month of September, the country of the Ilinois was detached from the government of New France, and incorporated with that of Louiſiana.

They were empowered to treat, and make alliance in name of his majeſty, throughout the whole extent of their conceſſion, with all the nations of the country who were not dependant on other European ſovereigns; and in caſe of inſult, to declare war againſt them. They were to enjoy the abſolute poſſeſſion of the mines and minerals which ſhould be opened during the time of the privilege. Permiſſion was given them to ſell and alienate the lands of their conceſſion, to conſtruct ſuch forts, caſtles, and places as they ſhould find neceſſary for the defence of the country; granted, to place garriſons there, to raiſe troops in France with the conſent of his majeſty, and to eſtabliſh and appoint ſuch governors, majors, military officers, and others, as they ſhould think fit to command their troops.

M. de la Motte Cadillac and M. Duclos had quitted Louiſiana before this change took place. M. de l'Epinai had ſucceeded the firſt, and M. Hubert the ſecond. They arrived at the Iſle Dauphine in the month of March 1717, and ſome months

months after the company of the weſt nominated M. de Bienville commandant-general of all the provinces. His inſtructions were dated the 12th of September, but he did not leave France until the enſuing year. M. de l'Epinai arrived with three ſhips, which conveyed ſeveral officers and a great number of ſoldiers, a quantity of ammunition and proviſions, and every ſpecies of merchandiſe. The whole were landed in the Iſle Dauphine, except the merchandiſe contained in the Dudlow, commanded by M. de Golleville, who had orders to ſail for Vera Cruz. This captain, acquainted with what had happened five years before to M. de la Jonchere, who could not obtain permiſſion to trade in that port, did not think fit to go thither: he went to anchor at *Villarica*, which was the former Vera Cruz, built by Cortes, and ſecretly notified his arrival to the Spaniſh merchants: they delayed not to come on board his veſſel, and purchaſed his whole cargo, for which they paid him in money.

M. de l'Epinai ſtrengthened the fortifications of the Iſle Dauphine, on which were the ſtores and magazines; and whilſt he was occupied in this ſervice, twenty-four ſavage nations ſent deputies to congratulate him, and to ſing the calumet. But the ſatisfaction of beholding this concourſe of ſo many nations aſſembled in his government, was ſoon afterwards diſturbed by

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an unforeſeen accident, which diſconcerted his meaſures, and rendered uſeleſs all the expences which had been beſtowed on the Iſle Dauphine. Towards the end of the month of Auguſt, the only paſſage into the harbour of this ſettlement was filled by a prodigious quantity of ſand collected there by the effects of a hurricane. The iſland itſelf was almoſt overflown, and great numbers of animals were drowned.

It became immediately neceſſary to ſearch for another anchorage for veſſels, and the *Iſle Surgere* was made choice of, which was afterwards named *Iſle aux Vaiſſeaux*. It has only one road, which is perfectly ſafe, except when the wind blows from the north or north-weſt, but theſe winds ſeldom occur, and are not violent. A ſmall fort was erected on the iſland for the ſecurity of the ſhips, and the eſtabliſhment on the Iſle Dauphine was removed to the Biloxi, which is to the northward of the *Iſle aux Vaiſſeaux*, but which ſhips cannot approach nearer than four leagues. Nothing evinces more ſtrongly than this new ſettlement, how much their commerce with the Spaniards was there circumſcribed. The ſoil of the Biloxi was not better than that of the Iſle Dauphine, and this poſt had not a road for the ſmalleſt brigantines. It is ſomewhat ſingular that the centre of a colony ſhould have been placed on a barren ſand, whoſe coaſt was practicable

cable for no other veſſels but ſuch as were of a very ſmall ſize.

In the ſame year, however, were laid the foundations of New Orleans, the capital of Louiſiana. M. de Bienville having arrived at the Mobile from the Natchez, to congratulate the new governor, informed him that he had obſerved on the borders of the river a place extremely fit to eſtabliſh as a poſt, and M. l'Epinai gave him the charge of this propoſed ſettlement. He ſent with him eighty traders newly arrived from France, with carpenters to build houſes. He at the ſame time gave inſtructions to M. de Blondel, a captain, to relieve M. de Pailloux at the Natchez, and the latter had orders to join M. de Bienville, to ſecond him in his enterpriſe, which was not at that time far advanced. The government of the infant city was given to M. de Pailloux. It is ſituated thirty-three leagues from the ſea, and it may be reached from thence in a boat or canoe in twenty-four hours. The ſoil in its vicinity is fertile, and its climate in the thirteenth degree of latitude, renders it capable of affording to the labours of the planter all the production of the iſlands. The environs of New Orleans preſent nothing remarkable, and the choice of its ſituation, in point of advantage, does not appear to exceed ſeveral other ſpots or banks of

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of the Miſſiſippi. But among the motives which induced M. de Bienville to fix it where it now ſtands, was, that a league diſtant from thence, towards the north-eaſt, there is a ſmall river called St. John, which after a courſe of two leagues diſcharges itſelf into Lake Pontchartrain, communicating with the ſea: by this means it became eaſy to hold a correſpondence between the capital, the Mobile, and the Biloxi, and the other poſts occupied near the ſea. The ſecond reaſon was, that below the city the river forms a great curve, named the *Bend of the Engliſh*, which, in caſe of the aſcent of an enemy, might occaſion a delay which was thought advantageous, to avoid a ſurpriſe.

They who thus reaſoned, ſuppoſed that the entrance of the river could receive ſmall veſſels only, and therefore little apprehenſion could be entertained from thence, as it could not be attacked with cannon. In whatever ſituation the city was built, the mouth of the river ought to have been defended by batteries, and by a fort, which would give time and warning to be prepared for the reception of an enemy. There could be no great neceſſity for a communication by means of boats between the ports, which, if attacked, could not be ſuccoured. When a ſmall veſſel, beſides, is aſcending the river, ſhe muſt

muſt have frequent changes of wind, which muſt detain her a conſiderable time in advancing a few leagues.

A little diſtance below New Orleans, the ſoil on each ſide the Miſſiſippi begins not to have much depth, and this always diminiſhes towards the ſea. Two points of land, whoſe formation does not appear of an ancient date, form the boundaries on each ſide to its mouth: water is found at a ſmall diſtance from the ſurface, and the quantity of ſhoals and ſmall iſlands, which within a few years had imperceptibly collected at all the outlets of the river, leave little doubt that theſe points have been formed in the ſame manner. It appears beyond queſtion, that when M. de la Sale deſcended the Miſſiſippi to the ſea, the mouth of that river was then in a very different ſtate from what it now is.

The nearer to the ſea, the more evident this change becomes: the bar has ſcarcely any water in the greater part of the ſmall iſſues, which the river keeps open, and which have extremely multiplied by means of the trees, which are drawn thither by the current. When a ſingle tree is fixed by its branches or its roots, in a place which has little depth, it becomes the cauſe of ſtopping a thouſand. In ſituations on the river, two hundred leagues from the ſea, are ſeveral inſtances of the ſame kind. Nothing is capable

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capable of diſengaging them: the ſlime which the river carries down with its waters, ſerves as a cement, and covers them by degrees: every inundation leaves a new bed, and after ten years at moſt the canes and ſhrubs begin to grow thereupon. In this manner have been formed the greateſt part of the points and iſlands, which have frequently cauſed the river to change its courſe.

New Orleans was for ſeveral years little better than a camp upon the borders of the river, and the inhabitants had no other view than to protect themſelves from the injuries of the weather, waiting until a place was formed that they might begin to build.

On the commencement of the following year, the entrance of the Miſſiſippi was ſounded, to aſcertain if loaded veſſels could enter, and ſixteen feet of water were found upon the bar. The Neptune, a veſſel newly arrived from France, was ſent into the river, and ſhe aſcended without any difficulty as far as New Orleans. It appears ſomewhat ſingular, that, after this diſcovery of the river being navigable, the government did not take meaſures to eſtabliſh thereafter the head quarters at that place, and that ſeveral thouſand men were left to become a prey to wretchedneſs and diſeaſe, under pretence that there were not batteaux ſufficient in number to tranſport them

to the place of their deſtination, ſince the ſame veſſels in which they had come from France might have diſembarked them at New Orleans, and ſtill nearer, if neceſſary, to their conceſſions.

In the month of March in the following year, the perſons to whom the firſt conceſſions were given arrived. The Sieur Dugué de Boiſbriand accompanied them, and brought the orders of the company, who, with the approbation of his majeſty, had nominated him commandant at the Illinois, M. de Bienville commandant-general of Louiſiana, and director of the company in that province, and M. de Pailloux major-general. The firſt went without delay to the Illinois, taking with him M. Diron, and the Chevalier d'Artaguette. The former was a captain, and was ſoon after declared inſpector-general of the province.

At the ſame time ſeveral nations of ſavages, ſome of whom had long ſhewn a diſpoſition unfavourable to the French, eſtabliſhed themſelves on the Miſſiſippi, not far from New Orleans, and as the greateſt part of theſe people were in the habit of cultivating the lands, they cleared conſiderable tracts, and planted them with corn, which became a great reſource for the new city, as they frequently furniſhed proviſions to the inhabitants in times of ſcarcity. Some of the ſettlers alſo ſent a part of their people higher up the river, and the advantages which they there found,

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found, to form ſolid eſtabliſhments, cauſed thoſe who had a regard for the public welfare to regret

1718. that they had prohibited the other ſettlers from purſuing the ſame plan. The inquietudes which aroſe on account of interruption from the Engliſh ſoon vaniſhed; all the nations bordering on the river were friendly to them, or at leaſt diſturbed not their repoſe, and the only means of inſuring themſelves againſt the intrigues of ſome, and the levity of others, was to fortify and people the colony.

In the month of June, M. de Bienville ſent to take poſſeſſion of the bay St. Joſeph, ſituated fifty leagues eaſt from Iſle Dauphine. M. de Chateaugué his brother was charged with this expedition, in which he acquitted himſelf without any difficulty, and cauſed to be built there a ſtone fort. The Spaniards had abandoned that poſt eighteen years before; the governor of Penſacola was, however, no ſooner informed of this enterpriſe, than he wrote to M. de Bienville, that the bay of St. Joſeph belonged to the Catholic King. It was not of ſufficient conſequence to become a ſubject of diſpute, and M. de Chateaugué doubted not a moment that it ſhould be deſerted, which happened in the following year.

In the month of February M. de Serigny ar-

1719. rived at Louiſiana with three veſſels, there publiſhed that war was declared againſt Spain, and

ſhewed

ſhewed the inſtructions which he had to capture Penſacola. The bay which bears that name was, according to the Spaniſh writers, firſt diſcovered by Pamphilo de Narvaez, who there landed in his unfortunate expedition to Florida. Diego de Maldonado, one of the captains of Ferdinand Soto diſcovered it a ſecond time, and gave it the name of *Port d'Anchuſi*. In 1558 Don André de Pés, general of the fleet of Barlovento, having gone to reconnoitre it, added to the laſt name that of *De Galve*, in honour of the Count de Galve, at that time viceroy of Mexico. This bay is therefore known among the Spaniards by the name of *Santa Maria de Galve*. And that of Penſacola, where the inhabitants of the country were ſettled, who have ſince been extirpated by other ſavages, has given name to the province, to which the Spaniards allot a great extent. In 1696, Don André de Arriola having been nominated the firſt governor of this province, went to take poſſeſſion of it, and built in the bay of St. Maria de Galve a fort of four baſtions, which he called St. Charles, with a church and ſome houſes: and this was the ſtate in which this place was found when M. de Serigny laid ſiege to it. The company of the weſt having ſeized the opportunity of the rupture between the two crowns, to procure the only port which is found on all the coaſt of Weſt Florida, M. de Serigny began by aſſembling a council of war, the reſult of

BOOK XI. 1719. of which was, that Meſſrs. Bienville and Chateaugué ſhould call together at the Mobile all the ſavages, allies of the French, all the inhabitants, *voyageurs*, and ſettlers, and that they ſhould conduct them by land to Penſacola, whilſt the three veſſels in which were embarked a hundred and fifty ſoldiers, ſhould enter the bay. All this was executed with much ſecrecy and diligence. On the 14th of May, at ten o'clock in the morning, M. de Serigny entered the bay: Don John Petro Matameros, governor of Fort St. Charles, who was not in a condition to attempt a defence, ſent to the governor of St. Joſeph to demand aſſiſtance, but he was not allowed time to receive it. Serigny kept up a briſk firing for the ſpace of ſix hours, when the governor ſent a captain of infantry to demand of the French commander the reaſon of ſuch unexpected hoſtility. M. de Serigny ſent back this officer, accompanied by a French captain, who informed Don John that war againſt Spain had been publiſhed in France on the 14th of January, and ſummoned him to ſurrender the place. The governor with the advice of his council requeſted to be allowed time until the following day, which he obtained; but afterwards reflecting that with a hundred and ſixty men which he had in the fort, without any hope of receiving timely ſuccours, it was not poſſible to reſiſt ſix hundred men, who attacked him by ſea, and ſeven hundred men by land, he conceived

conceived it more prudent to endeavour to obtain an advantageous capitulation, than to expoſe himſelf to the conſequences of a vain reſiſtance, and therefore the ſame day ſurrendered on terms. 1719.

On the 29th of June, Don Alphonſo Carraſcoſa having ſet ſail from Vera Cruz for the purpoſe of retaking Penſacola, with eight hundred and fifty men, including regular troops, volunteers and marines, in twelve ſhips and three frigates, arrived at St. Joſeph, and ſent one of his lieutenants to the governor of the fort, to learn the ſituation of the French. From the information of deſerters it was found that no repairs had been made, that the iſle of St. Roſe and the point of Seguença were abandoned, and there could be little doubt that the French commander would ſurrender at the firſt ſummons.

Carraſcoſa entered the bay, and landed a detachment of fifty men, who took poſſeſſion of point Seguença, which is the weſtern extremity of St. Roſe. Fifty French ſoldiers deſerted to them, and informed them that, on the approach of the Spaniſh troops, the gates of the fort would be opened. The garriſon was compoſed only of deſerters, illicit traders, and people who had been compelled to embark for Louiſiana. After ſome firing on both ſides, the Spaniſh commander ſent to the governor, requiring him to ſurrender himſelf

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himſelf and his troops priſoners of war, declaring that if he delayed until his batteries were formed, no quarter would be allowed. M. de Chateaugué requeſted until ten o'clock next morning, to deliberate upon the ſubject, and was allowed it; but in the mean time the Spaniſh commander took poſſeſſion of all the paſſages by which the ſavages might come to aſſiſt the French, and the place was ſurrendered at the appointed hour.

The Spaniards afterwards went to the ſettlement on the Mobile, where they received a check, and likewiſe attempted to take the Iſle Dauphine, but were repulſed.

The Count de Champmelin, *Chef d'Eſcadre*, having arrived on the 31ſt of Auguſt in view of the Iſle Dauphine, anchored next day in the road with five ſhips of war, and two veſſels of the company. He met in the canal two Spaniſh polacres, which were intended to ſtop the communication of the iſland with the Mobile; but at ſight of his ſquadron they made ſail for Penſacola. M. de Bienville aſſembled all the ſavages and Frenchmen he could find, and conducted them to Iſle Dauphine. A council of war was held, where it was ſettled that the fort of Penſacola ſhould be inveſted by land with five hundred ſavages, and that Serigny ſhould accompany De Champmelin, to ſerve him as a guide along the coaſt, and to the entry of the port. On ſounding

ing the harbour, twenty feet of water were found on the bar, at ebb tide, and the ſquadron entered, and received the firſt fire from the fort. The Spaniards had three frigates, one of which was ſunk, and ſoon after the fort ſurrendered. The French general ſent to ſummon the governor of Penſacola to ſurrender, with all his garriſon, as priſoners of war, and to inform him, that in caſe of refuſal the whole ſhould be put to the ſword. M. de Bienville, who had ſurrounded the place with five hundred ſavages, and a hundred and fifty Canadians, already refuſed to treat with him, and conceived that if De Champmelin would allow him to aſſault the garriſon, it muſt inevitably be carried. He deſired his lieutenant to communicate this to the governor, who however ſent him away without any anſwer, but his officers to whom he communicated the ſummons obliged him to recal him; he then declared that he ſurrendered. 1719.

It was deliberated whether the fort of Penſacola ſhould be preſerved. There was no want of ſoldiers to guard it, but the greateſt part were men of infamous character, who had deſerted from the troops of France, or who had been compelled to ſerve by force; and experience of the paſt, evinced how little they could be truſted. It was therefore reſolved to deſtroy the baſtions on the land ſide, to preſerve only two facing the

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port, and to leave there an officer, two ſerjeants, twenty ſoldiers, and twelve ſavages.

1721. In the mean time the fort of the Natchitoches was well ſupported, and ſeveral ſettlers came to that neighbourhood in the hope of enriching themſelves by commerce with the Spaniards: their hopes however were fruitleſs, and they were thereby prevented from eſtabliſhing themſelves on more ſolid foundations elſewhere, which contributed to their ruin. M. de Bienville received this year an order from the court to ſend thither M. de St. Denys, who departed on the beginning of the following year with a reinforcement of troops and ammunition, and was there joined by his lady. M. de Bienville eſtabliſhed anew the head quarters at the Biloxi, and there fixed his reſidence with the greateſt part of the troops and the directors of the company, of whom he was the chief. Nothing further was apprehended from the Spaniards: the opportunity was favourable for eſtabliſhing the ſettlers, who were frequently arriving from France, and who, if properly diſtributed, would have been enabled in the courſe of a few years to ſettle the borders of the Miſſiſippi as high as the Ilinois: but the whole of the attention of the directors of the company was beſtowed on making approaches towards the Spaniards, or to prevent them from eſtabliſhing themſelves in the vicinity of Louiſiana.

ana. M. de Bienville, agreeably to this ſyſtem, formed the deſign of taking poſſeſſion of the bay of St. Bernard, but he made a bad choice in the perſon to whom he confided the enterpriſe. This officer entered the river Magdalen, at which he arrived in his way, aſcended its courſe ſeveral leagues, and every where found ſavages on their guard, and reſolved not to ſuffer ſtrangers in their country. He notified to them that he was come to form an alliance, and to render their condition better; but they replied, that they were contented with their ſtate, and preferred their liberty to all the advantages which could be offered them. This officer nevertheleſs found means to conciliate the good opinion of ſome of their prinpal chiefs, and to retain them. He ſet ſail and carried them to the Biloxi. M. de Bienville blamed much this treaſonable conduct, and cauſed the ſavages to be re-conducted to their country. On the following year intelligence was received that the Spaniards of Vera Cruz had built a fort in the bay St. Bernard. Penſacola was reſtored to Spain in conſequence of a treaty of peace.

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The troops and ſtores were removed to New Orleans, which now became the head quarters, and an officer with a ſmall detachment was left to guard the Biloxi. A company of Swiſs, with their captain, having embarked in a ſmall veſſel with ammunition and proviſions, deſerted and

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went to Carolina. This deſertion was followed by others, and thus Louiſiana became more weak every day: it became neceſſary, therefore, that reinforcements ſhould be ſent from France to repair theſe loſſes. The governor of Carolina wrote to M. de Bienville to adviſe him of the arrival of Brandt, and his Swiſs company, and hinted to him that he ought to inform the court of France of ſo great a diſorder, which could not fail ſoon to bring entire ruin on the colony. This ſettlement had been peopled by men who were ſent thither by conſtraint, or by ſettlers, who found not the advantages which they had been led to expect: both, therefore, thought of nothing elſe but to abandon it: a great number periſhed by miſery or diſeaſe, and the population declined with much greater rapidity than it had advanced. The deſerters on their part proteſted, that the neceſſity to which they were reduced for the want of the neceſſaries of life, obliged them to go in ſearch of ſuſtenance elſewhere. The moſt diſcontented were the ſoldiers, to whom nothing but bread was given, whilſt proviſions were diſtributed to the workmen of the company, and even to men who had been galley ſlaves, who were in the employ of individuals. To add to theſe calamities, there aroſe on the 12th of September, at ten o'clock at night, a hurricane on the Miſſiſippi, which laſted

lasted with unremitting violence until next day at noon, and whose effects were felt in the country of the Natchez, and as far as the Biloxi. All the houses and huts of New Orleans were either overthrown or damaged. The vessels were thrown upon the land, and the canoes and batteaux totally destroyed. 1722.

The Chicachas were always hostile to the French, but their hostilities were confined to some surprises, which obliged those who travelled to proceed with precaution. They however relaxed in their operations, and presented to the Sieur Gravé the calumet of peace, which he accepted. But the colony, although it had no longer any inconvenience to apprehend on the part of this people, not only the most brave in Louisiana, but also the most formidable on account of their connection with the English, soon experienced that the fidelity of the Natchez could not be depended on, notwithstanding the strict watch that was preserved over that people, naturally deceitful. These barbarians no sooner perceived the French, occupied with other objects, pay less attention to their conduct, than they began their insults, and displayed all their animosity. Unfavourable accounts were likewise received from the Ilinois. M. de Boisbriand informed, that the people of the Rock, and the Pimiteouy, were besieged by the Outagamis,

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embarked with the Chevalier d'Artaguette and the Sieur de Tiſné, both captains, ſeveral other officers, and a detachment of a hundred men, to relieve them: he had previouſly given orders to forty Frenchmen and four hundred ſavages to proceed by land to Pimiteouy, and to wait his arrival there; but both detachments learnt on the way, that the Outagamis had retreated with the loſs of a hundred and twenty men. This ſucceſs, however, prevented not the Ilinois, although they only ſuſtained a loſs of twenty men, ſome women and children, from quitting the Rock, and the Pimiteouy, where they were kept in continual alarm, and coming to unite with thoſe of their nation who were eſtabliſhed on the Miſſiſippi. There being now no obſtacle to the irruptions of the Outagamis, on the river Ilinois, the communication of Louiſiana with New France became much leſs practicable. They received ſome time afterwards a conſiderable check from the Sieur de St. Auge, an officer commanding Fort Chartres on the Ilinois, who having drawn a great number into an ambuſcade, cut almoſt the whole in pieces: other parties leſs numerous ſhared the ſame fate ſoon afterwards. But their fury increaſed in proportion to the diminution of their force, and they found the means of communicating their hoſtile rage ſo ſucceſsfully to the new enemies which the French had raiſed on the

the Miſſiſippi, that the latter were infeſted by ſavages, with whom they had no cauſe of hoſtility, and who gave no quarter when they could ſurpriſe or attack with advantage. 1722.

Many of the Natchez openly declared themſelves againſt the French, and the brother of the great chief was at their head. To procure a durable accommodation with this people, it was neceſſary that the man who was the author of all the evil ſhould be delivered up to the governor by his own brother; and there were no means of compelling him to that meaſure. The good conduct of the Sieur Delietto was alone able to effect it. He had gained ſuch an aſcendency over the mind of the great chief, that he perſuaded him to form the reſolution of going himſelf to ſurrender his brother to the diſcretion of the general, who pardoned an enemy who was humbled. They ſhewed to each other reciprocal marks of confidence, and there was every appearance that this concord would have been laſting, if M. Delietto had lived much longer. A certain degree of diſtruſt and precaution on the part of the French, would doubtleſs have prevented theſe ſavages from conceiving any other than pacific ſentiments towards them, and have averted the ſubſequent evils which took place.

No eccleſiaſtics had, until this year, been introduced into the colony: ſome father capuchins, having 1723.

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having been ſent over from France, were diſtributed among thoſe ſituations which contained the greateſt number of ſettlers. To eſtabliſh miſſionaries among the ſavages was an object of conſiderable importance, and it appears ſomewhat ſingular that the French had ſo long overlooked it, eſpecially as the example of the Ilinois, which had now for ſix years been incorporated with Louiſiana, ſufficiently evinced the beneficial conſequences reſulting from that ſyſtem.

1723.

1725. As ſoon as the company announced to the Jeſuits their intention to eſtabliſh miſſions among the ſavage nations of Louiſiana, a great number made offer of their ſervices; but as the ſuperiors could not accord to all permiſſion to conſecrate themſelves to that duty, the directors thought it neceſſary to place thoſe who firſt arrived, in the places where there were no capuchins: whence it happened that the Natchez, whom, of all the people in the province it was neceſſary firſt to enlighten, were allowed no miſſionary; and the error which in this reſpect was committed, was not diſcovered until it was too late, and had become irreparable. Proviſion at the ſame time was made for the education of the French female children of the capital and its environs, by bringing Urſulines from France; and not to multiply eſtabliſhments in a colony which had not yet began to aſſume any form, the ſame

ſiſters were charged with the direction of the hoſpital.

1726. In the month of October M. Perrier, lieutenant of the marine, was nominated commandant-general of Louiſiana, in the place of M. de Bienville, who returned to France. Although there appeared no diſturbances in the colony, the new commander ſoon ſaw the neceſſity of having more troops than thoſe he found there. The more he became acquainted with the ſavages, the ſtronger was his conviction that he ſhould never be able to fix them in alliance with the French; that it was doubtful whether they ſhould not become enemies, and the means of ſecuring tranquillity was to garriſon all the poſts, ſo as to have nothing to fear from their reſtleſs and unſteady diſpoſition. He however did not much preſs the company to ſend him troops until three years afterwards, when he made a demand of three hundred regular and good ſoldiers. His requeſt was not only not complied with, but it was aſſerted that he wiſhed for an augmentation of troops, in order to adopt aggreſſive meaſures, and to ſignaliſe himſelf at the expence of the company.

He ſoon remarked, that, to avoid the importunity of the ſavages, who are continually making demands, the only means is to appear not to be in want of their aſſiſtance. They will then voluntarily

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luntarily follow the Europeans, and if they ſhould ſeem diſſatisfied, they can only be told they were not invited. Although it is neceſſary in ſome meaſure, in order to avoid quarrels with them, to gain their attachment by preſents, yet their fidelity can never be depended on, ſo far as to produce a total exemption from inſult.

The tranquillity which Louiſiana enjoyed ſince peace had been made with the Natchez and Chicachas, was only a deceitful calm, which lulled the inhabitants, whilſt there was preparing for them a ſtorm, whoſe deſtructive effects were averted by an accident, and which might have been fatal to the whole of the French colony: it proved diſaſtrous to thoſe who had not time to prepare againſt it, on whom its fury burſt forth.

For ſome years the Chicachas had been forming a deſign of deſtroying the colony of Louiſiana, and of putting to death every Frenchman. Their intrigue had been conducted with ſuch ſecrecy, that the Ilinois, the Acanſas, and the Tonicas, to whom they were afraid to communicate it leſt their attachment to the French ſhould induce them to reveal it, had not the moſt diſtant conception of what was in contemplation. All the other nations had entered into it; each was to maſſacre the inhabitants of a particular diſtrict, and all were to commence their operations on the

the ſame day. Even the Tetractas, the moſt numerous nation on the continent, and always allied to the French, had been gained over to join in the conſpiracy, at leaſt thoſe of the Eaſt, who are ſtiled the Great Nation; thoſe of the Weſt, or the Little Nation, were not comprehended in it; but they kept for a long time the ſecret, and it was only by accident that they made a diſcovery, when it was too late to give advice to all the inhabitants to be upon their guard. BOOK XI. 1726.

M. Pierrer having learnt that the firſt had ſome diſagreement with M. Diron d'Artaguette, commander of the fort of the Mobile, invited the chiefs of the whole nation to aſſemble at New Orleans, holding out to them the hope of an entire ſatisfaction to all their complaints. They accordingly came thither, and having explained the ſubject for which they were called together, they told the commandant-general, that their nation was much pleaſed that he had ſent an officer to reſide among them, and that he had invited them to viſit him. They ſaid nothing further, but returned with a ſtrong inclination not to fulfil a promiſe they had made to the Chicachas, of deſtroying all the habitations which were dependent on fort Mobile, and to allow the Natchez to execute their part of the project. Of this the latter afterwards reproached them in 1729.

preſence

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preſence of the French. There could be no queſtion that their deſign was to oblige the French to have recourſe to them, and by this means to profit by what would be given them, to engage their aid, and by the plunder they ſhould derive from the Natchez.

Thus was the commandant-general ignorant of his ſituation, on the eve of ſeeing a part of the colony deſtroyed by enemies, whom he did not diſtruſt, and betrayed by allies, on whom he believed he might place reliance, and who had been one of his principal reſources. It would have been no difficult matter for thoſe whom the Chicachas had gained to their intereſts, to ſucceed in the execution of their deſign, as no French habitation was proof againſt a ſurpriſe. There were ſeveral forts in different parts of the country, but, except that of Mobile, they were conſtructed with ſtakes, many of which had gone to decay; and had they been in a ſtate of defence, they could have protected from the fury of the ſavages but a ſmall number of the neareſt dwellings. The French conceived themſelves, beſides, in ſuch a ſtate of ſecurity, that the ſavages might eaſily have maſſacred the whole, even in thoſe ſituations which were the beſt guarded. An inſtance of this took place among the Natchez in the following manner.

Between

Between M. de Chepar, who commanded at this poſt, and theſe ſavages, a miſunderſtanding had ariſen, but it appeared that they had carried their diſſimulation ſo far, as to perſuade the French that they had no allies who were more faithful than themſelves. He thereupon became ſo little diſpoſed to diſtruſt them, even on a report having ſpread that the Natchez had ſome evil deſign againſt the French, that he put in irons ſeven inhabitants who had come to aſk permiſſion to aſſemble, and arm themſelves, in caſe of a ſurpriſe. He carried his confidence ſo far as to receive thirty ſavages into the fort, and as many into his quarters and their environs. The reſt were diſtributed among the houſes of the inhabitants, and the ſhops of the artificers, two or three leagues above and below their village. The day appointed for the execution of the general conſpiracy was not yet arrived, but two circumſtances determined the Natchez to anticipate it. The firſt was, that there arrived at the landing-place ſome batteaux loaded with merchandiſe, for the garriſon of this poſt, for thoſe of the Yaſous, and for many inhabitants, and they wiſhed to take poſſeſſion of them before the diſtribution was made: the ſecond, that the commandant had received a viſit from ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons of the ſettlements, who were then with him: they therefore conceived, that

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that on a pretence of going to the chace, to furniſh M. de Chepar with freſh proviſions to regale his gueſts, they might all arm, without any cauſe of ſuſpicion. They made the propoſal to the commandant, who agreed to it with pleaſure, and immediately they went to purchaſe from the inhabitants fuſils and ammunition, for which they paid in money.

They afterwards ſpread themſelves through all the ſettlement, publiſhing that they were going to the chace, taking care that their number ſhould in every place exceed thoſe of the French. They ſung the calumet in honour of the commandant and his company, after which they returned each to his poſt. Immediately on three reports from a fuſil being fired from M. Chepar's quarters, they every where began the maſſacre. The commandant and his gueſts were firſt killed: there was no reſiſtance but in the houſe of M. de la Loire, principal clerk of the company of the Indies, who had with him eight men. They fought until ſix Frenchmen and eight ſavages fell; the remaining two Frenchmen made their eſcape on horſeback. Previous to the execution of their purpoſe, they perſuaded ſeveral negroes, among whom were two drivers, to join them. They had brought the others to believe that they ſhould be free with the ſavages, that the wives and children of the French ſhould become their

ſlaves,

ſlaves, and that they ſhould have nothing to fear from the French of the other poſts, becauſe the maſſacre was general throughout the whole. It appeared, however, that the ſecret had been confided to a ſmall number only, leſt it ſhould have been diſcovered. Two hundred men periſhed almoſt at the ſame inſtant. Of all the French who were at this poſt only twenty-five eſcaped, with five negroes, the greateſt part of them wounded. An hundred and fifty children, eighty women, and as many negroes were taken. 1729.

During this maſſacre the Sun, or great chief of the Natchez, was ſeated in tranquillity under the tobacco ſhed of the company of the Indies. The head of the commandant, and thoſe of the principal Frenchmen were brought him, which he cauſed to be arranged around the firſt: the bodies remained without ſepulture, and became a prey to dogs and carnivorous birds. The barbarians ſpared two Frenchmen, on account of the utility they hoped to derive from them: the one was a taylor, and the other a carpenter. They did not treat with cruelty the negroe and ſavage ſlaves who ſurrendered themſelves without reſiſtance, but they ripped open the women big with child, and deſtroyed almoſt the whole of thoſe who had children at the breaſt, becauſe they importuned them with their cries and lamentations.

BOOK XI. The reſt were made ſlaves, and underwent the greateſt indignities.

1729. When they were aſſured that there remained no longer any Frenchmen in their country, they began to pillage the houſes, the magazines, and bateaux at the landing-place. To deprive the women and the ſlaves of all hope of recovering their liberty, they were aſſured that the maſſacre had been general throughout the colony, and that not a Frenchman by that time exiſted in Louiſiana. Some, however, had ſaved themſelves in the woods, where they ſuffered much from cold and hunger. There was one who had the boldneſs to leave his concealment, to go to warm himſelf at a houſe which he perceived. As he approached it he heard ſome ſavage voices, and deliberated whether he ſhould enter. He at length determined to expoſe himſelf to hazard, preferring a violent and immediate death to the calamity of periſhing gradually, which appeared to him inevitable in the preſent extremity. But he was agreeably ſurpriſed at the reception which he met with from the ſavages, who were Yaſous, and who, after comforting him, furniſhed him with proviſions, clothing, and a wooden canoe to tranſport him to Orleans. Their chief even charged him to aſſure M. Perrier, that he had nothing to fear on the part of his nation; that it remained always faithfully attached to the French,

French, and that he would go with a party of his men, to notify to all the French whom he ſhould meet deſcending the river to be upon their guard. This perſon, on his arrival at New Orleans, found the inhabitants in a ſtate of the greateſt alarm. Intelligence of the maſſacre had already been received by the firſt, who had eſcaped from the Natchez, and great apprehenſions were entertained for the ſafety of the Frenchmen eſtabliſhed among the Yaſous. On the teſtimony given them by this perſon of the humane treatment he had received from that people, ſome hope was entertained, but this was of ſhort duration. On the 11th of December father Souel, a Jeſuit, who was miſſionary among the Yaſous, at that time mixed in the ſame village with the *Corrois* and the *Offogoulas*, returning on the evening from a viſit to one of the chiefs, received, whilſt he was paſſing a river, ſeveral ſhot from fuſils, and immediately expired. His murderers forthwith betook themſelves to his cabin in order to plunder: his negroe acted on the defenſive, armed with a large knife, and wounded one of the ſavages, but was ſoon overpowered.

Early next morning they came to the fort, which was not more diſtant than a league from their village. It was ſuppoſed, on ſeeing their arrival, that they came to ſing the calumet to

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the Chevalier de Roches, who commanded in the abſence of M. de Codere: for although, from the Natchez to the Yaſous, the diſtance was only forty leagues by water, and fifteen by land, they were yet ignorant at this laſt poſt of what happened fifteen days before at the former. The ſavages were permitted to enter the fort, and unexpectedly attacked the French, whoſe number was only ſeventeen: they had not time to adopt any means of defence, and not one of them eſcaped. The barbarians ſpared four women and five children, of whom they made ſlaves. The Offogoulas were then at the chace: on their return they were ſtrongly ſolicited to enter into the conſpiracy, but they uniformly refuſed, and withdrew to the Tonicas, whom they knew to be firmly attached to the French.

Some ſuſpicion of this laſt misfortune was entertained at New Orleans, when the arrival of father Doutreleau, a Jeſuit miſſionary of the Illinois, placed it beyond a doubt. He had embraced the opportunity, whilſt the ſavages were occupied in the chace in winter, to deſcend to the capital, there to regulate ſome affairs which concerned his miſſion. He intended to ſtop at the habitation of father Souel, of whoſe death he was ignorant, but fearing leſt he ſhould not arrive there before noon, he went to celebrate maſs at the entrance of the river of the Yaſous. As he was making

making preparation for this ceremony, a canoe with ſavages arrived at the ſame place: they were aſked of what nation they were, and they anſwered that they were Yaſous, friends of the French, preſenting at the ſame time proviſions to thoſe who accompanied the miſſionary. Some wild fowl happening then to paſs, the Canadians, who had only two fuſils, diſcharged them, and as the father was ready to begin maſs, they did not think of re-loading. Of this the ſavages took notice, and placed themſelves behind the French, as if they wiſhed to hear maſs, although they were not Chriſtians. Whilſt the Jeſuit was engaged in his devotions, they fired upon the French, wounded him, and killed one of his people: he then haſtened to his canoe, into which the two remaining parts of his attendants had thrown themſelves, and believing him dead, they had made towards the centre of the river. He ſwam towards them, and as he was getting into the canoe, turned his head to ſee if they were not purſued: he received in his face a diſcharge of ſlugs, which however did not much wound him. He took the direction of the canoe, and his two men, one of whom had his thigh broken by a ſhot, they made every exertion to eſcape. The ſavages purſued them for an hour, keeping up a continued diſcharge, but as they found they could not overtake them, they went aſhore.

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Having arrived at the Natchez, and ignorant of what had there taken place, they approached the landing with a deſign of repoſing themſelves; but perceiving all the neighbouring houſes either burnt or deſtroyed, they were afraid to diſembark. Some ſavages who diſcovered them in vain invited them to approach, by ſhewing them every demonſtration of friendſhip, but they paſſed as quickly as they were able. The barbarians then fired on them, but they were beyond the reach of their ſhot. They wiſhed alſo to paſs the bay of the Tonicas without ſtopping, but, notwithſtanding all their endeavours, a canoe which was detached to reconnoitre them ſoon overtook them. They gave themſelves up for loſt, when they heard ſome perſons in the canoe ſpeak French. They were conducted aſhore, where they found troops aſſembled who were going to take vengeance on the Natchez.

M. Perrier was informed, on the 2d of December, of this new diſaſter. He detached a captain with ſome troops to order the inhabitants on each ſide of the river to be upon their guard, to form redoubts at convenient diſtances from each other, to place their ſlaves and cattle in ſecurity: this was executed with much promptitude. He recommended to the officer to obſerve the ſmall nations on the banks of the river, and to give arms to no ſavages, but to thoſe to whom

he was inſtructed to give them. A courier was at the ſame time diſpatched to notify to the Tehactas, who were employed in the chace on Lake Pontchartrain, to repair to him. There arrived next day at New Orleans a canoe, in which was a Tehacta, who demanded to ſpeak to him privately. This man told him, that he was much concerned for the death of the French, which he would have prevented, if he had not conſidered as devoid of truth what the Chicachas had reported, that the ſavages propoſed to deſtroy all the French habitations, and maſſacre their inhabitants. He had ſcarcely heard this ſavage, when others from the ſmaller nations came to warn him to place no confidence in the Tehactas; and he at the ſame time learnt that two Frenchmen were killed at the Mobile. They were unable to diſcover the authors of this aſſaſſination, but it was publiſhed throughout all their canton, that the Tehactas were to fall upon the fort, and the whole of the ſettlement. The commandant-general wiſhed to conceal theſe news from the inhabitants, who were already too much under the influence of fear; but they ſoon ſpread every where, and the conſternation became ſo general and ſo great that the whole colony trembled. 1729.

He diſpatched St. Michel to France, to inform the court and the company of the melancholy ſtate of Louiſiana, and to ſolicit ſupplies proportionate

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tionate to the neceſſity to which the colony was reduced. In the mean time it was with difficulty he could re-aſſure the inhabitants, and counteract the effects of deſpondency produced by ſuch a ſucceſſion of unfortunate events. He learnt that the ſmaller nations had been gained by the Chicachas, and if the Natchez had not anticipated the day ſettled for the execution of their plan, they would all have acted together.

M. Perrier had not yet developed all the ſprings of this inhuman policy; it however appeared certain, that had it not been for the conduct of the weſtern Tehactas, the general conſpiracy would have had its full operation. Therefore he did not heſitate to make uſe of them as an inſtrument of puniſhing the Natchez, whatever it might coſt him. Two veſſels of the company happily arrived at New Orleans, and he wiſhed no longer to defer marching againſt the enemy, perſuaded that he could not too ſoon engage the Tehactas to replace the ſmall nations in the intereſt of the French, or at leaſt to retain them in a ſtate of neutrality. He knew however, that he run ſome riſk in beginning the war with ſo little force, and he ſent M. le Sueur to engage in his favour the ſavages in the neighbourhood of the Mobile, who formed a body of ſeven hundred warriors, whom he conducted to the Natchez. M. Perrier cauſed to aſcend to the

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the Tonicas the two veſſels of the company. He ſent meſſengers by land to notify at all the poſts what was going forward, and took the beſt meaſures he could to fortify New Orleans. He gave to the Chevalier Loubois charge of the expedition againſt the Natchez, it being thought neceſſary that he ſhould himſelf remain at New Orleans in caſe of an attack. An officer with twenty-five men was detached to reconnoitre the enemy: whilſt he was landing, a quantity of ſhot from fuſils was poured upon his party, which killed three men, and he himſelf and two others were taken priſoners. Next morning the Natchez ſent one of theſe two to M. Loubois, to make ſome propoſitions; but they affected a degree of haughtineſs, which ſhewed a great confidence in themſelves, and a contempt of the French.

They demanded as hoſtages a French officer, and the great chief of the Tonicas. They afterwards ſpecified in a long detail all the merchandiſe which they required for the ranſom of the women, children, and ſlaves which they had among them; and although their conditions were exorbitant, they appeared to ſuppoſe that the French would be happy to comply with them. The ſoldier was detained, and no anſwer given; and on the ſame day they avenged themſelves by burning, with circumſtances of the moſt aggravated

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gravated cruelty, the officer and ſoldier who remained in their hands.

1729. On his arrival at the Natchez, M. le Sueur began his attack. It appears that they were yet ignorant that the army was in the bay of the Tonicas, where it was incapable of reſtraining the intereſted impetuoſity of the ſavages, which a deſire of booty and of ſharing a part of the priſoners had incited. They charged the enemy ſo briſkly, that they killed eighty men, made ſixteen women priſoners, liberated upwards of fifty French women and children, the two artificers whom the Natchez had ſpared, and a hundred and fifty negroes, male and female. They would have carried their victory much further, if ſome of the negroes who had been gained by the Natchez had not taken arms in their favour, and guarded their ſtore of powder.

M. de Loubois ſet out from the bay of the Tonicas with two hundred men, and ſome field-pieces, and arrived on the 8th of February at the Natchez, where he encamped around the temple. On the 12th the cannon were brought before one of their forts, and as it was conceived theſe preparations, eſpecially after the check they had received, would have diſpoſed them to ſubmit to all that would be demanded of them, they were acquainted, that, by their early ſubmiſſion, they might avoid entire deſtruction; they were, however,

however, more reſolute than ever to defend themſelves. Next day a fire was begun with ſeven cannon, at two hundred and fifty toiſes from the fort, which were ſo badly managed, that after ſix hours of continual diſcharge not a ſingle ſtake was thrown down; a circumſtance which threw the Tehactas into bad humour, and the inſolence and avidity of theſe ſavages, who wantonly expended a part of the ammunition with which they were furniſhed, tended more to diſcourage the French commander than the deſperate manner in which the Natchez defended themſelves. He again wiſhed to try if the beſieged were become more reaſonable, and ſent an interpreter with a flag to ſummon them; but they received this envoy with a diſcharge from their fuſils, which ſtruck him with ſuch terror that he abandoned his flag. It would have been ſeized by the enemy, had not a French ſoldier reſcued it. The Natchez made, the ſame day, a ſortie, with a deſign to ſurpriſe Loubois, who was lodged in the temple, but they did not ſucceed. The ſavages, to the number of three hundred, made a ſecond ſortie, and attacked in three different places; they ſurpriſed a poſt in the trenches, at which were thirty men and two officers, who immediately fled, believing they were attacked at the ſame time by the Natchez and the Tehactas; they were ready to take poſ-

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ſeſſion

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ſeſſion of the cannon, when the Chevalier d'Artaguette with twenty-five men haſtened thither, repulſed the enemy, and regained the trenches. On the 24th a battery of four pieces of cannon of four pounds was eſtabliſhed at the diſtance of a hundred and eighty toiſes from the fort, on which the beſieged ſent the wife of the Sieur Deſnoyers, whom they entruſted with their terms. She was detained, and no anſwer was given. A chief of the Tehactas afterwards advanced with a party of his people to ſpeak to the beſieged; on this they conſented to give up the priſoners, but they at the ſame time declared, that the French muſt be ſatisfied with that meaſure, and that the army with the cannon muſt firſt be withdrawn to the borders of the river; and ſhould they remain before the fort, that they would burn all the priſoners. This laſt conſideration determined M. Loubois to comply with their demand, without however loſing ſight of the deſign of preventing the eſcape of the Natchez. The priſoners were delivered to the Tehactas, and the Natchez made their eſcape. The only advantages derived from this expedition, were the releaſe of the priſoners, and the eſtabliſhment of a fort, on the ſame ſpot to which the army withdrew. The Chevalier d'Artaguette was left with a garriſon to maintain it, and to inſure the navigation of the river.

The

The Tehactas, after rendering to the French all the ſervice in their power by acting in concert with them, excited diſguſt by their inſolent and ferocious conduct. Their aſſiſtance was however neceſſary, and it was the intereſt of the French to conciliate their friendſhip. The Yaſous, the Corrois, and the Tioux, were not ſo fortunate as the Natchez: the Akauſas fell upon them, and made a great ſlaughter; there remained of the two firſt tribes but fifteen ſavages, who went to join the Natchez; the Tioux were totally deſtroyed. 1729.

Some ſupplies of troops having arrived from France, and M. Perrier finding his preſence now leſs neceſſary at New Orleans, ſet out for Mobile, where he had invited an aſſembly of the ſavage chiefs, not to demand their aſſiſtance againſt the Natchez, but to regulate ſome affairs relating to commerce. Having in a great degree attained the object of his journey, he returned to the ſeat of government, where he found a ſmall army, which he had ordered to be aſſembled, in readineſs to begin its march. He firſt ſent two Canadians before, to learn the ſtate of the enemy, and of the fort which formerly belonged to the French. Two hundred men were embarked on the 9th of December, compoſed of three companies of the marine, ſome ſailors and volunteers. M. Perrier followed, with two companies of

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of fuſileers, and one of grenadiers, compoſing likewiſe two hundred men: he was joined on
1729. the way by a hundred and fifty militia. On the 20th, all the army having met at the Bayagoulas, a Colapiſſa chief arrived with forty warriors of his nation. On the 22d the army departed from the Bayagoulas, divided into three bodies; the negroes were diſperſed among the different canoes, and the ſavages who were not yet all aſſembled, were to form a ſeparate corps. It was learnt that a canoe, in which was twenty-five Frenchmen, had been attacked by the Natchez, and that ſixteen of the number were killed or wounded. Intelligence was likewiſe brought that the Akauſas, having no account of the approach of the French, and tired with expectation, had returned to their country. Part of the army waited for ſome time in the bay of the Tonicas, there to aſſemble the ſavages who had not yet joined.

1731. The general again met the army at the entrance of the Red River, having with him a hundred and fifty ſavages of different nations. Theſe were detached, together with fifty volunteers, to proceed before the army, under the conduct of the Sieur de Laye, captain of militia, and to ſurround the Natchez wherever they could find them. But this detachment did not proceed far, becauſe the ſavages were not well diſpoſed for

for the expedition. The general had recommended great precaution in concealing themſelves from the enemy, but his orders were ineffectual, becauſe the ſavages, who acknowledged no authority, and preſerved no diſcipline, continued to fire upon the game which preſented itſelf; it was therefore extraordinary, after a long march, conducted with ſo little ſecrecy, they ſhould have found the enemy in their fort.

They arrived there on the 20th of January, and orders were immediately given to inveſt it; as they advanced ſo near as to be able to ſpeak to the enemy, the beſieged made uſe of much invective: the trenches were opened, and the people on both ſides were employed in ſkirmiſhing the reſt of the day and all the following night. The mortars, and every other article neceſſary for a ſiege, were next day diſembarked, and ſome ſhells were thrown into the fort. The beſieged made a ſortie, killed a Frenchman and a negroe, and wounded an officer, but they were quickly repulſed. On the 22d ſhells were thrown the whole day, without any material effect; but before two days more had elapſed, they hoiſted a white flag. The commandant erected a ſimilar flag in the trenches, and a little time afterwards a ſavage advanced with two calumets in his hand. He requeſted a ceſſation of hoſtilities, offering to ſurrender all the negroes they had in the fort.

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The commandant required that the chiefs ſhould come to him, in order to ſettle the terms of peace. The envoy returned to the fort, and brought back to the French eighteen negroes. In delivering them to the general, he ſaid that the Sun or chief would not leave the fort: that he ardently wiſhed for peace with the French, but upon condition that the army ſhould immediately withdraw: that if this meaſure was adopted, he would give his word that his nation ſhould never commit any act of hoſtility againſt the French, and that he was willing, if it was deſired, to re-eſtabliſh his village in its ancient ſituation. The general anſwered, that he would liſten to no propoſal, unleſs delivered by the chiefs in perſon: that he would aſſure them of their ſafety; but that if they came not the ſame day, no quarter would be given. The Sun at length came out accompanied by two chiefs, and was conducted to M. Perrier's quarters, where four centinels were placed over them. One of them, notwithſtanding, found means to eſcape in the night, and to draw with him from the fort a great part of the ſavages who defended it. There remained not above ſeventy warriors, who had no chief, and the fear of falling into the hands of the enemy, if they ſhould attempt to eſcape ſeparately, obliged the greateſt part of them to remain ſhut up. In the mean time the French had

had ceaſed from firing, and as it had continued inceſſantly to rain for three days, the beſieged ſuppoſed that the French would be leſs exact in guarding the paſſes, in which they were not deceived. About eight o'clock in the evening it was diſcovered that they were eſcaping. Immediately ſeveral French ſoldiers were ordered to purſue, but they paſſed along the courſe of a ſmall river which ran between the quarters of the militia and thoſe of one of the diviſions, and when the French took poſſeſſion of the fort, the Natchez were at a conſiderable diſtance from it, with their women and children. The ſavages acting with the French, refuſed to purſue the Natchez, and there being no longer any enemy, the general made a diſpoſition for returning. The Sun with his attendants and family were embarked in a ſmall veſſel called the St. Louis. 1731.

It was not long before the Natchez rendered themſelves again formidable, and the impolitic and unjuſtifiable conduct of the French, in ſending to be ſold at St. Domingo as ſlaves, the Sun, and all thoſe who had been taken with him, had more enraged than intimidated that nation, in whom hatred and deſpair had converted their natural haughtineſs and ferocity into a ſteady valour, of which they were conceived incapable. In the month of April the great chief of the

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1731. Tonicas deſcended to New Orleans, and related to M. Perrier, that being engaged in the chace, four Natchez came to preſent themſelves to him, and to intreat him to endeavour to effect an accommodation between the French and their countrymen, adding, that all, and even they who had withdrawn to the Chicachas, requeſted to be received into favour: that they would ſettle themſelves wherever the general ſhould point out, but that they ſhould prefer being in the vicinity of the Tonicas. He therefore had taken the journey to New Orleans, to be acquainted with the general's pleaſure upon that ſubject.

It was agreed that they ſhould eſtabliſh themſelves at two leagues from the village of the Tonicas, and not nearer, in order to avoid every occaſion of diſpute between the two nations; but that he ſhould inſiſt above all that they ſhould come unarmed. The Tonica promiſed that this order ſhould be conformed to; in the mean time, as ſoon as he returned, he received into his village thirty Natchez, after having taken the precaution to diſarm them. A few days afterwards the chief who had eſcaped arrived among the Tonicas with a hundred men, their wives and children, having firſt concealed among the canes around the village fifty Chicachas and Courrois. The great chief declared to them,

that he was prohibited from receiving them unleſs they ſurrendered their arms. They replied, that ſuch was their intention, but they intreated his indulgence to retain them for a little time, leſt their women, ſeeing them thus diſarmed, might believe them priſoners, and deſtined to ſuffer death. To this he conſented, and diſtributed proviſions to his new gueſts; the feaſt ended in a dance, which continued till after midnight. The Tonicas retired to their cabins, doubting not that the Natchez would likewiſe go to reſt. An hour before dawn of day the Natchez, Chicachas, and Courrois entered all the cabins, and killed every one whom they found aſleep. The chief, alarmed by the noiſe, run into the midſt of them, and killed five Natchez with his own hand, but overwhelmed by numbers he fell, together with twelve of his attendants. His war chief, not diſmayed by the loſs, nor by the flight of the greateſt part of his warriors, rallied a ſmall number, with whom he regained the cabin of the great chief; thoſe who fled returned to him, and after an obſtinate conteſt he remained maſter of the village.

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As ſoon as intelligence of this affair reached New Orleans, a party under the orders of the Chevalier d'Artaguette was detached, to endeavour, as ſoon as poſſible, to perſuade the ſavages

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to purſue the Natchez. M. de Creſnay was alſo ordered to ſecure thoſe who had ſurrendered themſelves to him, but his aid major, to whom he had entruſted the care of them, having left them their knives, they, at a time when leaſt expected, ſeized eight fuſils, and ammunition, with which they fired until ſeveral people were killed. Their chief had deſcended to New Orleans with fifteen men, where they were ſeized, ſent to the iſland of Thouloufe, and put in irons, which they found means to break; but not having time to effect their eſcape, they were all killed.

The party of Natchez who had failed in their attack on the Tonicas, went to rejoin their countrymen who had, by the Black River, eſcaped from M. Perrier at the ſiege of the fort. Having found them, they went together to the Natchitoches, where M. Saint Denys was poſted with a few ſoldiers, and laid ſiege to his fort. That officer ſent immediately an expreſs to the commandant to demand ſuccour, and Loubois was ſent with ſixty men to reinforce him; but he was informed on his way, that the Natchez were repulſed, but had poſſeſſed themſelves of the village of the Natchitoches, and had entrenched themſelves there. M. de Saint Denys having received a reinforcement from the Aſſinais

nais and Attacapas, to whom ſome Spaniards had joined themſelves, attacked their intrenchments, and killed eighty-two, among whom were all their chiefs. The remainder had betaken themſelves to flight, and were purſued by the Natchitoches. So many loſſes, and particularly that of their chiefs, had ſo completely diſperſed the Natchez, that they no longer compoſed a nation; but a ſufficient number ſtill remained to diſturb the inhabitants of Louiſiana, and to interrupt their commerce. To remain upon friendly terms with the Chicachas was no longer poſſible: they delayed not openly to declare themſelves. Their number amounted to a thouſand warriors, beſides about a hundred Natchez and ſome Courrois and Yaſous. This was ſufficient to keep the colony in alarm, and it appeared to be upon the eve of ſupporting a new war, which its preſent force did not promiſe that it ſhould be able ſoon to terminate.

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The Chicachas, the moſt fierce, and at the ſame time the moſt brave of all the nations of Louiſiana, waited for a conſiderable time before they threw off the maſk. They had taken ſuch meaſures for withſtanding the French, as gave reaſon to ſuppoſe that their neighbours were concerned with them, of which proofs not altogether equivocal ſoon appeared. They began by

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by ſending a truſty negroe to explain to his countrymen who were among the French, that it depended on themſelves to recover their liberty, and to live in tranquillity and abundance. As he conducted his intrigue with much addreſs, he was attended to by his countrymen, and it was only by a negroe woman that the conſpiracy was diſcovered. They had agreed, when the inhabitants of the town ſhould be at maſs, to ſet fire to the different houſes, and to take that opportunity of eſcaping. On the evidence of this woman, another female, who was a principal agent in the conſpiracy, and four men who were alſo leaders, were ſeized, and further proofs appearing againſt them, were puniſhed with death. This example, which evinced to the other negroes that their ſecret was diſcovered, was ſufficient to reſtrain any further attempts.

In the mean time, the Tehactas, part of whom had been gained by the Chicachas, had diſregarded invitations which the Sieur Regis had made them on the part of the general, to ſend three hundred of their warriors to join the French; but forty of their people having been killed in a ſkirmiſh by the latter, this check induced them to form an alliance with them. The Chicachas then turned themſelves towards the Miamis, the Ilinois, and the Akauſas, but they

they found theſe people faithful to their engagements with the French, and relinquiſhed every hope from thoſe quarters. The Ilinois delivered up to the general three ambaſſadors who had been ſent to them upon that miſſion: theſe were ſurrendered to the Tehactas, who burnt them at New Orleans, and thereby extinguiſhed every hope of conciliation with the Chicachas.

Such was the ſituation of the colony when M. Perrier expected to be recalled, becauſe he underſtood that his conduct had been diſapproved of by the company of the Indies; he was however ſurpriſed to receive a new commiſſion appointing him governor of Louiſiana for the King. From the beginning of this year the company had reſolved on the retroceſſion to his Majeſty of the grant which he had given them of this province, and of the country of the Ilinois, and alſo of the excluſive privilege, on condition of being allowed the power of granting permiſſions to merchants of the kingdom inclined to trade with that country. This reſolution was ſoon after confirmed by a decree, and by virtue of letters patent from the King, M. de Salmont, who acted at New Orleans as chief commiſſioner, took poſſeſſion of the country in name of the Moſt Chriſtian King.

M. Perrier

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1731. M. Perrier was not allowed time to profit by the meaſures which he had taken to carry on the war againſt the Chicachas. He preferred to be engaged in a ſervice in which he had been reared, to expeditions which can by no means be compenſated by the credit acquired from them, and he was relieved by M. de Bienville whom he had ſucceeded. The new governor found himſelf engaged in a war with the Chicachas, which laſted for many years. A war, in which the Chevalier d'Artaguette and a great number of brave officers periſhed. In this war alſo periſhed a Jeſuit named Senat, who, forgetful of his own ſafety, was impelled by humanity to adminiſter comfort and relief to the wounded, until all hope of his retreat was cut off.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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